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TWOPENCE

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Youth Rises Against Aggression

By Elie Duguet

THE tramping of Nazi boots now sounds in the streets of Prague and Memel. The Blackshirts, although bravely repulsed several times, have gained the coast and capital of Albania, and have "triumphed" over a people of one million souls, armed chiefly with flint-lock muskets.

The greatest betrayal, the greatest lie, in the history of humanity. Rumania, Poland, Denmark, Yugoslavia, Greece, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, France—Munich! Where will the insatiable aggressors halt? The four plotters are still the masters in London and Paris, as they are in Berlin and Rome. While two of them destroy the independence of peoples, strengthen their war bases, occupy new strategic points, the other two are busy scattering and weakening the forces of peace. Two of them act; and the other two talk, and talk well sometimes. But their acts deny their words. Their words serve only to placate public opinion.

The fascists have realised their four-party military alliance: Berlin-Rome-Tokio-Burgos. Chamberlain and Daladier sabotage collective security. They avoid mention of the Soviet Union, the real, the greatest, power for peace.

Will these four emulators of Machiavelli—Hitler, Mussolini, Daladier, Chamberlain—lead humanity into a vast and awful catastrophe? But for that they must rely upon the younger generation, whose soul revolts against the war-mongers and murderers of liberty.

In this number of *World Youth* we may read the appeal of the World Youth Congress movement, calling upon the youth urgently to unite around the essential principles of "defence of the independence of all nations." Here we shall also find the proud and magnificent declaration of Polish youth "prepared to fight and to sacrifice its life to defend the integrity and independence of Poland as well as its rights with regard to Danzig." Then there is the news of the demonstration in Belgrade of 3,000 Yugoslav students, who have declared themselves prepared to offer their lives to protect the independence of their country. Then, the Swiss youth expressing its determination to fight against "the defeatists and cowards of all camps."

Here we may also read the message, addressed to the youth of Germany and Italy, by several French youth organisations—which formerly approved the Munich Agreement—and which states: "Above

everything we place our country, our honour and our liberty."

Firmly attached to peace, the younger generation has no desire to become the victim of that "blackmail of war" which some are trying to complete by their theories of cowardice, surrender and fatalism. The "blackmail of war," the theory of servility, can have no echo in the hearts of the younger generation. The youth of the world will never forget the heroism of the youth of Spain in the defence of its country's independence. A people which fought for 32 months, arms in hand, can never be enslaved. The glorious example of the Spanish youth lives for ever, and calls us to the struggle. The youth of the world, also, accords its fullest admiration to the youth of China who are successfully resisting the Japanese invaders. And the devastating reply to the Japanese intruders, given by the soldiers of the Red Army at Lake Hassan, proves that peace is not gained by whining.

The Albanian peasants who, in the mountains of

their country, are still determined to resist the domination of the fascist invader, are not fighting a battle of despair: they are showing the youth of the world that one should always be prepared to strike back, to make an end of the schemes of the fascist bandits for conquest and enslavement.

Chamberlain and Daladier at Munich preserved the régimes of Hitler and Mussolini from destruction; but in order again to save them, they would have first to destroy the spirit of freedom, stifle true patriotism, transform into the soul of a slave the soul of the generation of the 150th anniversary of the great French Revolution. Thanks to Munich, Hitler and Mussolini have so far been able to realise their plans for the domination of free peoples. But with each day the youth comes nearer the road of unity and struggle. The fascist bandits, their masters and their lackeys, had better not sound too prematurely their trumpets of victory.

Two Congresses

The 10th Congress of the French Young Communist League

THE 10th Congress of the Federation of Communist Youth of France was held at Issy-les-Moulineaux, near Paris, during the Easter holidays, and, following on the Congresses of Marseilles and Paris, will mark a decisive stage in the history of Communist youth.

A REAL COMMUNITY OF YOUTH

This was indeed a genuine congress of youth. The report from the credentials commission proves to what extent the Congress reflected the true aspect of the Y.C.L. of France. Above all, it brought together the flower of the French youth, which, by education and practical work, it will prepare for the struggle for life. While the majority were young people between the ages of 18 and 20, the Congress included 50 delegates who were not over 16, and 75 aged 17.

These few facts will help to give one an idea of the atmosphere of this Congress. During those four days of intense discussion between these youths fighting for a common ideal, the delegates experienced much. They have learned much from having participated in the discussions and varied work of the Congress; but the songs, the demonstrations of enthusiasm, the testimonies of admiration and affection towards the leaders and militant members of the youth and working class; to Maurice Thorez, André Marty, Raymond Guyot, Jacques Duclos; the warm welcome to the Spanish Youth representatives, to representatives of the foreign federations who had come to greet the Congress—all this was of no less importance.

There was no similarity between this Congress and the hypocritical and cavilling gatherings of politicians which we witness only too often. It was a Congress of the toiling youth of France, who will not remain passive during the disastrous events of to-day. It was a Congress of hope, with a message for the youth of France. The youth of Paris gave a great welcome to the Congress, to the young people from the provinces, from the colonies and from Corsica. There were 25,000 people present at the opening meeting, where Maurice Thorez made his great speech—a speech which adds one more work to that series of classics for the education of the young workers, which includes the speeches of Lenin, Jaurès, and Stalin.

Maurice Thorez retraced the history of the struggle of the Communist Party and the young Communists against war. There is only one consistent peace policy: and that is the one resulting from application of the scientific doctrine of the Communist

Party. His speech revealed an unlimited horizon to the young workers: the path of the liberation of mankind, which will be the achievement of the Communists in spite of all obstacles.

CONGRESS FOR THE DEFENCE OF FRANCE

The 10th Congress of the French Y.C.L. was a Congress for the defence of France. The menace of Hitler and Mussolini against the security of France was the chief concern of the labours of the Congress.

Raymond Guyot, in his opening speech, reported in the following words the fight of the young Communists against the encirclement of France:

"The Federation of Young Communists has already, together with our Party, denounced the monstrous plot against France and liberty set forth by Hitler in 'Mein Kampf.' Against Hitler, we proposed the union of all the forces for peace in the world. It was in this spirit that the Communist Youth participated in the *World Youth Congress* held in New York during the summer of 1938.

"Side by side with our Party, we opposed last September the infamous dictates of Munich, which made for the defeat of peace and for the defeat of France.

"France sustained a defeat at Munich," wrote the *Corriere della Sierra*. "She is practically an island between the German lines of fortifications, the Pyrenees, the Alps, and two seas."

Those who favour surrender were specifically condemned in the discussion on peace and the defence of the country. Faced by the danger which menaces France, the Congress emphasised the necessity to build up an invincible barrier. "Peace does not whine." Peace is a fight which calls for courage and heroism.

One after the other, speakers rose to affirm the will of the young people in their districts to fight the dangers of fascism both at home and abroad: the threat against France, and the conspiracies of the fascist agents within our country which menace our freedom.

"Raymond Guyot has shown us," said a delegate from Alsace, "how we can avoid in our country the horror of fascism, the suppression of our liberties, and maintain peace by a firm policy.

"Alsatian youth particularly feels the need of a real policy for the defence of democratic liberties. For it has had an opportunity of witnessing all the evil effects of Hitler propaganda in our own beautiful province."

A very young *Algerian* delegate voiced the attachment of the colonial youth to French democracy.

"Our sole hope at the moment," he said, "is our unity with the youth of France for the defence of democracy. The *Algerian* people know full well what they owe to the people of France, inheritors of the noble traditions of the Jacobins of 1789."

In the name of the young people of his island, a young *Corsican* gave a stinging reply to Mussolini's pretensions:

"In manifesting its love of liberty, its hatred of fascism, the youth of Corsica remains loyal to the lessons of a glorious past."

And he quoted Strabo, on the ancient Corsicans:

"These men kept sullenly silent, obstinately refusing all food, and preferring to die of hunger rather than remain in slavery."

Had we had the least doubt as to the attitude of the youth at this Congress with regard to the enervating theory of "peace at any price," this doubt would have vanished at the moment when *André Marty*—that great Frenchman so basely slandered by the descendants of the emigrés of Coblenz—spoke. Every word uttered by the hero-sailor of the Black Sea went to the hearts of the delegates. Each one present was ready to pledge himself to follow the example set by Marty, that the heroism of Louis Perrault, Lina Odena and Villemain may not have been in vain, that he was ready for an equal sacrifice in the same cause.

At the conclusion of the discussion on the defence of the country, the Congress issued a manifesto to the youth.

This *manifesto* appeals to all young people who love France to put an end to the policy of surrender. The young Communists propose that all the youth join to perpetuate that national genius to which the peasants, workers and philosophers of France have contributed. In affirming their desire to fight for peace, for the defence of France against fascist aggression, the young Communists declared that they remain loyal to their international sentiments. "Our fight for the defence of France, and yours, young brothers of Germany and Italy, against your tyrants, is the same fight for a new world."

CONGRESS OF UNITY

The 10th Congress of French Young Communists was also a congress of unity. Maurice Thorez and then Raymond Guyot stated that the condition of victory was in the unity of the people and the unity of youth with the people. "Whatever may be the

difficulties that oppose you, do not be discouraged. Persevere!" Thus spoke Maurice Thorez at the Winter Sports Drome in Paris. And Raymond Guyot said:

"We will devote the best of our forces to the realisation of unity in the younger generation, within a united French nation."

Later, he added:

"As long as four years ago the national agreement for united action was signed. From 1934 to 1936, the young Socialists and Communists acted throughout the country in close unison against fascism. We have fought side by side; together with our people we crushed fascism, and the great victory of May and June, 1936, was our common victory."

"And nowadays does not everything demand that we be united?"

All the delegates who spoke testified to the important place they gave in their activities to unity with the young Socialists and to the uniting of all youth. At its first session, the Congress addressed a message to the National Congress of Young Socialists, then meeting at Toulouse.

THE NEW LEADERSHIP

The election of the leadership was one of the greatest moments of the Congress. Some very young comrades were confidently elected to posts of leadership. These were mostly young militant members who have proved their mettle in the trenches of Spain, in the strike of November 30, and in organising the youth. Their experience may be short, but they bring with them all the enthusiasm, the fighting spirit and initiative of which youth is capable. They are the relief force; their elder brothers, after having brilliantly executed their tasks, have attained an age when they pursue their activities in the ranks of the Communist Party.

STATUTES AND PROGRAMME

Before adjourning, the Congress adopted two documents of the greatest importance: the statutes and programme of the Federation.

Both are animated by the aspiration of the Young Communists to make their Federation a powerful organisation of young workers, peasants, and students, aged from 14 to 21; a fighting organisation which will respond to all the needs and aspirations of young people and will prepare them to play their part as fighters for the greatest human goal: Communism.

The 11th National Conference of the Young Communist League of Great Britain

One hundred and eighty delegates and consultative delegates and over 500 visitors and guests heard the main report delivered by the National Secretary, Comrade John Gollan, to the 11th National Conference of the Y.C.L. of Great Britain, held in London at Easter. We give below the main points of this important report.

OUR Eleventh National Conference speaks for all youth. To-day, youth has become news and an instrument of politics. The reason is threefold. First, because our youth, seeing freedom everywhere, wants to resist Fascist aggression. Second, they, themselves, in the youth movement, have carried through great events for peace, democracy and social advance: the Youth Hearing, the Youth Parliament, the Pilgrimage, and campaigns of aid for the victims of aggression. Third, reaction and the Chamberlain Government are trying to capture youth for their war plans.

Hitherto, only our elders, most of them reactionary, have spoken for and lectured to youth.

Here, in our Conference of youth, we speak up for ourselves. We want peace and a decent life. We will struggle to the end for the preservation of democracy and liberty.

Ours is the richest country in the world, but young people are living a life which is a disgrace to our boasted civilisation. Youth to-day wants knowledge and skill, a secure job, a guaran-

teed future and a man's wage at a man's age. But instead of helping the young people to realise its aim, the rich employers and the Chamberlain Government are increasing the difficulties for them.

WHO STANDS IN THE WAY OF PEACE?

Chamberlain and the rich have opposed a real school-leaving act. They have opposed the 40-hour week, they have opposed trade training and higher wages. They are representatives of the employers and the enemies of youth.

Now this rich man's Government of Chamberlain is talking about conscription. Not, as perhaps you might hope, to conscript wealth to provide some of the needs of youth. They are planning to take youth's liberties away and force them as conscripts into the army. Chamberlain proposes to do this so he says to defend liberty against fascism. This man who has helped to destroy liberty in Czechoslovakia, who has helped to destroy it in Spain, who allows the traitor Casado into Britain but refuses Pasionaria, does not want conscription in order to stop Hitler. He wants it so that he can destroy the liberties of the British people and to regiment our youth.

We are the opponents of conscription and will have no truck with it. All Europe is on edge. Every day fascism advances and gets away with it. The preservation of peace is a matter of weeks not years. It is not a technical re-organisation of the armed forces or the militarisation of Britain that is wanted, but an immediate change in the foreign policy of the Government.

Not conscription, but getting rid of Chamberlain and obtaining a new policy of peace in the next weeks—that is what can save peace and our lives.

"APPEASEMENT" BRINGS WAR

Ask any girl or lad in a factory or pit who is threatening peace and they will answer Hitler and Mussolini, the fascist aggressors.

The youth of 1939 are now confronted with a second world war already affecting the lives of 500 millions as a result of unchecked fascist aggression. In 1935 Italy attacked and seized Abyssinia. In 1936 Germany and Italy invaded Spain. Japan wages war on China. Germany has seized Austria and Czechoslovakia. Europe is almost crumbling up before our eyes as a result of Chamberlain's "appeasement" policy.

WHY IS ALL THIS HAPPENING

Why is all this happening? Why aren't the aggressors stopped once and for all? It is because Chamberlain is for co-operation with fascism. He admires fascism, wants to see Hitler and Mussolini destroy democracy in Europe. He wants to turn Hitler's war drive against the Soviet Union, to try and destroy socialist democracy and socialist might, something Hitler couldn't do if he lived to be a hundred. The fascists would never have reached their position to-day if it were not for Chamberlain and his government of pro-fascist rich men.

Chamberlain doesn't represent the real Britain. The real Britain is represented by the British youth who upheld the honourable traditions of British history in the International Brigade in Spain, the real Britain is represented by the people who sent food and medicine to the victims of aggression in Spain and China, the real Britain is represented by the people whose hearts go out to the victims of aggression.

FOR THE DEFENCE OF BRITAIN BY THE PEACE BLOC

Poland is the latest example of Chamberlain's false policy. A pact of mutual assistance has been signed with Poland. Everyone says the leopard has changed his spots. Even the *Daily Herald* now says the Government has gone over to collective security. Chamberlain is manoeuvring in Poland and there's a danger people will be deceived as they were last September with Munich. Chamberlain had to make a manoeuvre on Poland otherwise he would be swept away by the people after Hitler's seizure of Czechoslovakia. But he will force a deal between Germany and Poland if he gets away with his manoeuvre.

Collective security to-day means the Peace Bloc and the key to the Peace Bloc is an agreement between the Soviet Union and Britain. Every progressive paper realises this, and the *Picture Post* shows it in graphic pictures. But Chamberlain squirms and twists. He eats caviare at the Russian Embassy. He says in the House of Commons he has no ideological objection to Russia, he keeps the Soviet Government "informed," he does everything except the only thing that counts, namely the signing of an agreement with the Soviet Union. Why the delay? The British want it, the British people need it. He says Poland objects to Russia. When Colonel Beck says this, he is speaking for Chamberlain—it is Britain and not Poland that says this. Chamberlain's line still is to keep the field clear for concessions to Hitler and in no circumstances to join with the Soviet Union.

And while Chamberlain holds up the Peace Bloc and gives the "all clear" to Hitler, fascism drives ahead. Albania goes, Yugoslavia is to be carved up, Franco joins the fascist bloc to help encircle France and the Government says British war metals to Germany can't be stopped because this would mean sanctions, and that there's no war!

DEMOCRATIC MORALE IS SUPERIOR

Just as the democratic forces are immeasurably superior to the fascist aggressor in other ways, so are they immeasurably superior on the question of morale. Spain has been defeated as a result of the treachery of the British Government, but who can question the strength and power of the undefeated Republican Army of Spain and the Spanish people who have given the world an object lesson in resistance? The legendary morals and strength of the Chinese 8th Route Army, now part of the united Chinese forces opposing Japan is yet another example. Above all the morale of the people

of the Soviet Union and their invincible Red Army led by Comrade Voroshilov is a thing which is causing the fascist aggressor sleepless nights.

It could be the same with the British Youth. They have the morale for the correct policy. Captain Liddell Hart, leading military expert, has written:—

"The defence and advance of freedom at home and abroad is the only policy, and the one basis of patriotism, on which we can hope to rally the rising generation as a whole, and inspire it with faith. The swelling ranks of the Youth Movement are already infused with such faith, and with an eagerness to give service. They are only waiting for a sign that the nation's course offers a worthy cause."—(*Sunday Pictorial*.)

Give the youth the correct policy and youth will do everything in a voluntary way for the defence of the British people.

It is because the Peace Bloc of the nations is the vital necessity for the real defence of the British people that we are opposed to the Government's present schemes on National Service.

A.R.P. AND NATIONAL SERVICE

We fight for real A.R.P. for the people—for deep bomb-proof shelters and for its democratic control. The Government is against this and the mass struggle of the people for real A.R.P. has become in effect a mass political campaign against the Government.

But we fight against all the other aspects of National Service, because these measures like the Government's armament policy, are not for the defence of the people, but are for strengthening their war plans to strike at democratic rights and prepare for fascism in Britain. The only guarantee that measures of such a nature would be used against fascism and not to help or to usher fascism into Britain, would be the existence of a Government pledged to defend the people.

During the last imperialist war the Youth Movement gave unstinting service, because they were told it was the war to end war, a war to end power politics. Speaking in 1917, Basil Matthews, a leader of the Y.M.C.A., said:—

"At long last we find part of the secret of our will in the fact that—through this last year—the army and the nation at home have become more and more grimly determined to end militarism for ever. Woe betide the politician who, after the war, tries to dragoon the people. They will break him like a twig and fling him on to the bonfire of tyrannies which will blaze up, burn out, and die down in ashes that will be scattered to the four winds."

We know to-day that every one of the ideals for which British youth were led into fighting and giving service in 1914 were betrayed. We do not intend to be betrayed to-day. The young generation of to-day demands a correct policy and for this correct policy they will give unstinting service, but if the policy is not there, their first duty for service and defence of the British people is to fight this Government until it is destroyed.

CONSCRIPTION

The drive for conscription to-day has never been more deadly. It comes from two quarters. Firstly, from supporters of Hitler, who, having created Hitler domination in Europe now say we must have conscription to meet the menace. It also comes from Conservatives who support collective security. Many sincere people are being deceived into believing that we must now learn to become soldiers to stop Hitler.

All kinds of arguments are used, such as "conscription would show Hitler we mean business." The answers to these arguments are simple. Not conscription under Chamberlain but voluntary service and a Peace Bloc under a Popular Government will show Hitler we mean business.

Duff Cooper says, "There was no help for Austria or Czechoslovakia. Would there be help for Lithuania and Poland? Compulsory service would give the answer."

We say to Duff Cooper it was not because there was no conscription in Britain that Austria or Czechoslovakia was destroyed, it was because there was a lack of will and not a lack of means—it was treachery and not the lack of necessary means which betrayed these countries—treachery will betray Poland and Lithuania even if we had conscription.

It is said that Socialist Russia and democratic France have

conscription, so why not us? What hypocrisy for these people to talk of Russia!

We refuse to class Russia and its glorious Socialist Red Army with any other country. Universal military service in the Soviet Union is not a burden but an honour which every Soviet youth is proud to shoulder. The armed defence of the workers' Fatherland and service in its glorious army is something which working youth of the whole world hail with joy and which terrifies the fascists and their friends in every country. We say more power to the Red Army and its leaders, more power to the Russian Youth who serve in its ranks with honour!

There are historical reasons why conscription exists in France, but the point is, will conscription stop Hitler and is it necessary for us to have conscription to stop him? Even with conscription the French people will be betrayed so long as capitulation to fascism takes place and there is no Peace Bloc. Conscription under Chamberlain would be a danger and menace to peace, would strengthen the friends of Hitler and not the friends of peace.

It is no argument to say that because France has conscription it should exist here. It's the policy and not the military method that decides. Britain has a glorious record for democracy and for voluntary methods. The boys in the Territorials are there because they want to resist Hitler. Give us a correct policy and our youth will voluntarily do all that is necessary.

The only thing Sir Edward Grigg and his conscription supporters, the friends of Hitler, take as their inspiration from democratic France is conscription, but for inspiration on all other matters they go to fascist Germany. Don't be deceived by talk of Britain's weakness.

If the Government wanted to apply a real policy the overwhelming strength of the democracies is there. Why, even in Britain, with the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the new propositions on the Territorials, Britain will have almost 1,000,000 men in the armed forces.

We oppose conscription. We will rouse the youth of our country to oppose it by defeating the Chamberlain Government. We welcome the fact that the Labour and Trade Union Movement have declared against conscription. Let them strengthen this declaration by breaking the tacit alliance with Chamberlain on the questions of National Service and by giving up once and for all the prohibition of the common front of all forces which can alone build the Peace Front by the destruction of the Chamberlain Government. This is the alternative to conscription. This is the real defence of the British people.

Liddell Hart opposes conscription on military grounds and because it would destroy valuable principles of liberty in Britain, which would never be regained.

This is its real aim against which we put the policy of the National Youth Campaign, representative of the foremost progressive and political youth organisations of Britain: a foreign policy based on the Peace Bloc, real A.R.P. and bombproof shelters, real fitness and measures of social advance. Give us a Government which will do these things and there is nothing British youth will not voluntarily do to stop fascist aggression.

FOR A NEW GOVERNMENT

There has never been a Government so hated by the people which has suffered so many blows and yet survived, as this Government. It has survived only because the Labour leaders have not organised the mass opposition and hatred of the people against it. Indeed, at critical moments such as the Munich crisis, the Labour leaders have rallied to the support of the Government and saved it from collapse.

At present there are tremendous forces waiting for leadership to achieve this aim. The campaign led by Cripps shows the tremendous feeling in the Labour Movement. The support of the Co-operatives for the Peace Alliance, the big movements in the Trade Unions, all show the feeling of the workers in the factories and in the mass organisations. The Liberal Party has declared for Unity and even Chamberlain's own Conservative supporters have criticised the Government.

Never was there such an opportunity for Labour, if it would only end with open and tacit support for Chamberlain, end expulsion, make peace with the supporters of Unity and rally all the forces for a new Government of the people representing all peace and democratic forces.

Youth and Politics

The Great Betrayal by Casado and Besteiro

By Frederico Melchior

THE coup d'état carried out on Sunday, March 5, by Colonel Casado and his friends was a fatal blow to the Spanish people, leading in a few days to the Republic's key fortress submitting to the Italo-fascist bloc.

Only the naive could be unaware that the "Junta" represented the first act of a farce cleverly staged by Burgos, in which active parts were played by various kinds of provocation, adventurism, ambition and dishonesty. Only traitors could have developed the theory that Franco could accept a peace proposed under the worst conditions and which he was perfectly able to do without, since Casado and Besteiro allowed him to impose his victory by means of a mere military parade.

The revolt against the Negrin Government by the Casado-Besteiro group was not, as has been proved by subsequent events, a revolt against any one political hegemony in the Government, but a fight against the people and the working class. The treachery was the new form of Franco's offensive against Madrid and Valencia, the only form which allowed the invaders to break definitely through the Republican fronts. The rising was also the best means of preventing a real peace, a peace between all Spaniards, which would have guaranteed national independence, and as it was proposed by the Negrin Government at Figueras.

ANTI-COMMUNISM.

The slogan of the Casado revolt was the Berlin-Rome slogan "anti-Communism." It is a slogan which has served as a mask for certain Trotskyist elements in the leadership of the Socialist organisation in Madrid and also to conceal the capitulationist manoeuvres of certain groups of the F.A.I. (Federation of Anarchists of Iberian Peninsula).

Recent events in Spain prove once again that anti-Communism, whether it is worked up in Prague, in Paris or in Madrid, serves only the interests of Hitler and Mussolini. Under such a slogan it was possible to bring about a concentration of forces which although having different outlooks agreed on fundamental questions.

THE COMPOSITION OF THE JUNTA

The Junta was composed of the following elements:

1. The Caballerists, elements ostracised by the working class, imbued with Trotskyist methods and phraseology, a confused bunch of intellectuals of the type of Arikuzan and Llopis, with a smattering of ex-pistoleros and trade union bureaucrats; persons driven solely by their hatred and contempt for the working class and the vanguard fighters;

2. Uncontrolled elements of the F.A.I., such as Melchor, Rodriguez, Eduardo de Guzman, Garcia Pradas—some of the latter in open contact with the Phalangists—and in opposition to the honest, progressive sections of the C.N.T.; demagogues of the first order with all their political baggage borrowed also from the Trotskyists;

3. Trade unionists excluded from the Popular Front and from the Youth Alliance on account of their defeatist tendencies and their fascist declarations, both in the Press and in their speeches. These individuals published three papers subsidised by mysterious sources;

4. Second- and even third-class elements of the Republican parties, men whose personal ambition and private immorality made them easy prey for the Gestapo, adventurers who deplored not having joined Franco's camp at the beginning, so as to be able to have a share in the spoils of victory.

All these elements, together with old professional soldiers without technical ability and envious of the efficiency and success of the people's leaders—men of the Casado type, from the first in touch with Franco—greatly respected and made much of by the Government, and who held, in particular, positions in the administration and in the rearguard.

This agglomeration of Trotskyists, Caballerists and F.A.I. men, together with the Junta traitors, formed the council of national surrender.

THE U.S.Y. AT THE SIDE OF THE PATRIOTS

The surrender Junta had not the support of a single

genuinely anti-fascist force; it had with it neither the workers, the peasants, nor the young patriots.

The youth who, for nearly three years, gave their generous assistance to the Republic in the struggle against the invaders, the youth who had swelled the ranks of the volunteer units of June 18, 1936, and had formed two divisions of volunteers, the anti-tankists, the courageous partisans, in a word, the young patriots, could not support the treachery since they had sworn to fight for Spain to the very end.

The *Federation of United Socialist Youth*, the largest youth organisation, which mobilised the immense majority of young workers, peasants, soldiers and girls, remained firmly at its post against the invaders. Without faltering, the U.S.Y. remained at the side of those who wanted to save the lives and honour of Spaniards, and it opposed itself to Casado and Besteiro, i.e., to Franco. The organisation which, on November 7, mobilised all its members for the defence of Madrid and covered itself with glory, could not unite with cowards lying in ambush to deliver the people, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the most barbarous reactionaries.

THE DISRUPTERS AT THE SIDE OF FRANCO AGAINST THE U.S.Y.

From the beginning of the rebellion, Casado and his accomplices aimed many of their blows against our Federation. With the object of breaking the unity of Spanish youth, they helped the disruptionist elements who were good enough to act as their agents. A great many of our militants were shot in the most cowardly fashion by Mera's gunmen. Thousands of others were jailed, to be handed over to the vengeance of the Phalangists. Our branches were attacked by the myrmidons of Casado and Besteiro. Profiting from this persecution and using the same weapons as Spain's traitors, the Trotskyist group, under the leadership of *Socrates Gomes*, organised the "dissolution" of the U.S.Y., in collaboration with certain groups of the F.A.I. and the Republican parties. They wished to make easier the task of the Phalangists, to spare them work and to provide them with lists of denunciations in every town, thus preparing the assassinations of the best sons of Spain.

But they forgot that the U.S.Y. is indestructible because it lives in the hearts of all our young revolutionaries. They forgot that the young Socialists and young Communists formed a single bloc with the working class youth and the peasant youth of Spain. They forgot that "dissolving the U.S.Y." would have required wiping out three years of Spanish history, three years of heroism and action. It would have meant wiping out from the people's memory the names of *Trifon Medrano*, *Lina Odena*, *de Rosa*, *de Cuesta*, *Leal Conesa* and thousands of heroes who fell with the name of the U.S.Y. on their lips.

They forgot that our organisation, forged under the leadership of *Santiago Carillo*, has struggled and will struggle every day with ever greater strength, against the fascist terror and the Italo-German invasion.

It was impossible for this miserable group to achieve its aim. And while they collapsed in their shame, under public contempt, the U.S.Y., always firmly implanted in the battle line, prepared itself, under new conditions, to continue the struggle against fascism.

TREACHERY WAS THEIR WORK

Finally, the Junta threw wide the gates to the armies of the invaders. The task commenced by Franco and the Phalangists was finished off by Casado, Besteiro, the F.A.I. and the Trotskyists. It was not a party nor a group of organisations which was thus delivered up to Franco's reign, but an entire people, millions of men, women and children, whom Hitler and Mussolini will never forgive for having fought against them for three years. It was an army of nearly a million men who were handed over bound hand and foot to the invader. It was youth, in all its human greatness and heroism, boundlessly ready for sacrifice, which had struggled and died, smiling, confident of victory. These thousands of young men and women were inspired with the hope of future happiness. This is the magnificent youth of Spain which, by the betrayal of Casado and Besteiro, will suffer under one of the darkest ages of oppression.

Hearing the rattle of the firing squads, before the terror of the fascist jails, face to face with the slavery of workers and peasants, the voice of anti-fascists throughout the world must be raised against Casado and Besteiro, with the overwhelming accusation: Behold your work!

Struggle and Education of Youth in Chinese Border Districts

WHEN unity was concluded between the Chinese Communist Party and the Kuomintang, the former Soviet zone became the border district of Shensi-Kansu-Ningshia under the authority of the Central Government. During the autumn of 1935, the 25th Red Army arrived at North Shens, part of Hupeh, Honan and Anhwei, and was joined a few months later, at the end of the heroic Great Trek from Kiangsi in the South, by the first Red Army. United, the Red Armies established the *North-Western Soviet*, which, in the course of the winter of 1936, extended its control over 18 districts (Hsien) and 125 counties, with a population of 950,000 inhabitants over an area of approximately 30,000 square miles.

The Communist Party's proposals in 1937, for the cessation of civil war and the conclusion of unity in order to drive out the Japanese invaders, were accepted by the Kuomintang. The North-Western Soviet was transformed into the Government of the Border Districts and as such became a local government subordinated to the Central Government and part of the Chinese Republic in every sense. The Red Armies were reorganised and became the revolutionary 8th Route Army.

The legal status of the *Communist Party* was recognised by the Central Government, and the Chinese Communist Party made a declaration in which it affirmed its entire and warm solidarity with the Kuomintang in the struggle for the defence and national independence of China against aggression by Japanese imperialism.

Fully accepting the authority of the National Military Council, the 8th Army, which was now only an integral part of the Chinese forces, continued to give an example of heroism to the fighting forces of the whole country; its first victories in Shansi province restored the confidence of the Chinese people and showed that the Japanese armies were far from invulnerable. The Government of the Border Districts was to give a similar example to the other provincial governments, showing them how democracy can be developed in time of war, how the standard of living can be raised even in the midst of struggle, and that, as the President of the Border Districts said, "facts prove not only that the practice of democracy can be co-ordinated with the pursuit of war, but, further, that the people's capacity for defence increased with its political, social and economic liberation."

MAO TSE TUNG EXPLAINS TO THE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' DELEGATION THE AIMS AND TASKS OF THE BORDER DISTRICTS ADMINISTRATION

"What are the aims and tasks of the Border Districts Administration?" asked the members of the International Students' delegation, interviewing *Mao Tse Tung*, renowned Communist leader, in the town of *Yen-An*, capital of the district.

He replied:

"When you understand the social and political character of the Border Districts, you will have a clear idea of our aims and tasks. This zone is essentially a democratic and popular anti-Japanese base, within the framework of the anti-Japanese struggle; the people have obtained freedom of assembly and of the Press; workers, peasants, students, tradespeople, women and intellectuals, churches, trade unions and still other organisations all enjoy full liberty. The Communist Party of China and the Government of the Border Districts struggle to enlarge democracy. These rights are particularly threatened by the pro-Japanese traitors.

"Secondly, this zone is directly bound up with the movement to resist Japanese aggression. Part of the 8th Route Army has its base here. There is close collaboration between men and officers, as there is between the people and the army; this is the guarantee of unity which will make possible the final victory.

"Thirdly, our educational programme is also based on anti-Japanese and democratic principles; examples are our anti-Japanese military academy and the University of Chapei.

"Fourthly, our economic system is organised for the requirements of the present war. There is uniformity of taxation and there is no extortion of other payments. The struggle for final victory and for the improvement of the people's standard of living are indissolubly bound up.

"Finally, and most important of all, the government is

entirely elected by the people. This destroys the legend according to which the ignorant peasant does not know enough to vote. It is a fact that our elected representatives in the government have carried out their duties better than officials who were appointed. The anti-Japanese struggle is tremendously reinforced by the extension of universal suffrage and by the recognition of the franchise right of all workers, peasants, women, young people, trading people, intellectuals, and the middle classes, to everyone over the age of eighteen. This anti-Japanese democratic system has already shown results in the zone. People who are capable and efficient find their places in the struggle for ultimate victory.

IF DEMOCRACY WERE EXTENDED, CHINA WOULD WIN THE WAR QUICKLY

"Those are the characteristics of this administrative zone. They give a complete picture of our aims and tasks in China. All the other provinces of China ought to follow the same policy. Democracy reinforces our unity. If democracy, in all its forms, were introduced in China for the whole people, with freedom of the Press and of assembly in the military, educational and economic spheres, China would win the war quickly."

It is easy to understand that in the Border Districts, with their unity, democracy and organisation of resistance to the Japanese invasion, youth occupies a foremost position in the struggle.

"The greatest part of political and social work in the Border Districts," writes the President of the Border Government, *Lin-Chu-Han*, "is carried out by the younger generation. Practically, nothing can go very far without the courage, ability and energy of youth. That is why the Government of the Border Regions has organised youth in the youth associations of national defence, where they are given military instruction to increase their national consciousness and to educate them to do collective work."

The youth association of national defence of the North-West was founded in the course of a conference which took place at Yen-An in April, 1937. It numbers more than 200,000 members inside and outside the Border Districts, as well as numerous groups in the 8th Route Army. It has clubs of all kinds, choirs, dramatic groups, sports and study groups, etc. It also includes the organisation of Young Vanguardists, an organisation for young men and women, as well as children's groups. The association is divided into five sections: organisation, propaganda, social, military and athletic service, and children. One of the greatest achievements of the association has been the creation of the *Institute of Youth Education* at *An-Wu-Pao*, a little village in the South of Shensi; it is perhaps the only university in the world which is both organised and financed by youth.

A UNIVERSITY FOUNDED AND MANAGED BY YOUTH

The Institute was founded in October, 1937, and has seen the number of its students grow from a hundred to more than a thousand. It is installed in one of the old provincial manors. The administration and control are organised democratically by the youth themselves. The President of the University, *Feng-Wen-Pin*, is a young worker, less than thirty years of age. The students are young peasants, workers, employees and students, coming from all parts of the country. Many of them have come thousands of miles on foot in order to join the University. The principal subjects studied are:

1. The three popular principles of Dr. Sun-Yat-Sen (nationalism, democracy and the welfare of the people);
2. The United Front;
3. Elementary political education;
4. Mass movements;
5. Elementary military science and guerilla warfare.

The Institute is democratically organised. When the students wish, they can examine the accounts, make suggestions and criticisms of the administration and the curriculum, which they choose themselves. The students work in close collaboration with the peasants of the surrounding villages. They built a road in order to connect the village of *An-Wu-Pao* with the main road from *Sian* to *An-Wu-Pao*. They help the peasants to organise themselves in patriotic and anti-Japanese groups. They also help with the harvests. And the peasants show their sympathy for the University by coming in considerable numbers to mass meetings and making contributions to the Institute's upkeep. The students' lives are very simple: they sleep on mattresses spread out on the

floor. There is not a single chair in the University, the classrooms being furnished with blocks of stone drawn up in the open air. In the club, decorated by the students, portraits of Barbusse and Romain Rolland have been painted on the walls, side by side with those of Maxim Gorki and the great Chinese novelist, Lu Hsun.

"WE WANT OUR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS TO TRAIN YOUNG CITIZENS IN THE IDEA THAT OUR VICTORY AGAINST JAPAN IS A CERTAINTY"

In spite of the large number of illiterates, education has made considerable progress in the Border Districts. Under this administration the number of elementary schools has increased from 80 to 705. "We intend our elementary schools to train young citizens in the idea that our victory over Japan is a certainty," writes *Chow Yang*, chief of the Department of Education, "and that a happy and independent China can be built when the war is ended. Besides educating the youth in a national and revolutionary spirit, it is necessary to accustom them to collective life and to give them a basis of essential knowledge."

"At the elementary school, where they study from seven to 12 years of age, the children learn Chinese, the elementary principles of politics, rudiments of natural science, mathematics, art, music, history and geography, besides agricultural work. Once a week the children hold a meeting at which they discuss the manner in which the school is run; they learn democratic principles in a very practical way. On Saturdays there are no lessons—the children go out to help the families of those fighting at the front. On Sunday they go into the neighbouring villages to explain what Japanese imperialism means for the Chinese people."

"All the children take part in the campaign against espionage, organising patrols on main roads, examining passports, etc. Since the district is backward economically, funds for education are extremely meagre (although they constitute one-seventh of the government budget). Caves are used as classrooms; in many schools there are no blackboards, and writing has to be done with chalk on stones, or with a stick in the sand. The young schoolmasters live a hard life, but thanks to their political faith and their familiarity with overcoming difficulties, they work patiently and persistently for the new China and the education of her citizens."

The dormitories, clubs and dwellings of the students of the two universities of the Border Districts are also caves; *Kang-Da*, anti-Japanese university, and *Shenpei* (Academy of North Shensi) are both situated at Yen-An. To show the more clearly how the Government of the Border Districts has done everything in its power to develop elementary education, we will add that the whole of the youth of China regards these two Universities at Yen-An as the first centres of Western education in favour of Chinese national unity and independence. "Yen-An is a lot more important than the G.H.Q. of the 8th Route Army," writes *M. Kiang Wen Han*, both student and secretary of the Y.M.C.A. "For young China it is an Eldorado, the land of all their dreams. To it come young men and girls from all the provinces of China, from Malaya and the Philippines, Java and America."

THE YOUNG STUDENTS GO STRAIGHT FROM THE UNIVERSITY TO THE FRONT

It is impossible to describe the fortitude of the young people who come to study at Yen-An. One sees them on the *Sian-Yen-An* road, their belongings strapped to their backs, singing the national songs of young China, stopping to chat with a peasant, or to soothe a child. They are courageous, not only because they know the hard life which awaits them at their University, but because they know that as soon as their studies are over they will go to the front or to join the guerilla bands behind the Japanese lines. Some of them walk for three months to get to Yen-An; they come from every province, from every social class and every occupation. There are workers, peasants and labourers; there are tradesmen, soldiers, schoolmasters, clerks, students from secondary schools and universities. Many of them leave comfortable homes for the chilly caves of *Kang-Da*. Knowing, as *Lo Qui Ching*, vice-president of *Kang-Da*, has said, that "the courses are short, but the departures for the front are numerous," knowing that the firing-line or the guerilla band is awaiting them, they come in thousands with confidence and enthusiasm on their faces.

At Yen-An University the dormitories and classrooms are

caves dug by the students themselves. The students work in the open air, despite the severe climate. They wash in the streams. They eat millet (an extremely coarse maize) and a few vegetables, for there is no rice in the district. They rise early and work hard. They devote their leisure time to working amongst the peasants, educating and organising. Once having gained their diploma they leave for the front or for some special political or social organisational work.

At Kang-Da there are about 4,500 students, of whom 90 per cent. have come from outside, and the remainder from the 8th Route Army. The courses of study at Kang-Da keep in view the preparation of students for immediate participation in the work of national defence, partisan warfare, or political or social organisation in the enemy rear. The course is as follows:

1. The United National Front.
2. Social Science (including the three popular principles and Marxist-Leninism).
3. Political Economy.
4. Philosophy (Dialectics).
5. Mass-Movements.

For the first two months all the students attend the same courses; then, after a severe examination, those who are physically fit attend a special military course for four and a half months, while the others (about 30 per cent.) attend a political course for a month.

LIKE THE MIGHTY YELLOW RIVER FLOWING TO THE SEA, WE SHALL SWEEP THE INVADERS FROM OUR COUNTRY

The *Shenpei Academy* was created to accommodate the students for whom there was no room at Kang-Da. They study the same subjects by the same methods of discussion and collective study. At both Universities the students' associations take part in the administration and help to educate the people. They sing, produce plays, hold classes.

Their life is hard. Their personal belongings consist of: the rough blue uniform which the government provides for them, a toothbrush, a big straw hat, some pencils and some books. And there are nearly 50,000 young people of all classes throughout China who wait impatiently for permission to go to Yen-An. Young *General Lin-Piao*, the celebrated fighter and strategist of the Red Army, wounded by the Japanese, is the president of Kang-Da, and in his capacity both as student and president of the University symbolises the youthful spirit which pervades the Border Districts.

This spirit, this burning desire for national unity, this determination of all the young people of China to resist until the final defeat of Japanese militarism, their faith in their leaders and in themselves, is expressed in the *Kang-Da song*, which begins with these words:

"To us falls the task of freeing humanity and defending our country.

Study seriously, comrades, Comradeship and Tenacity are our watchwords.

Work hard, comrades, Struggle and Sacrifice are our tradition.

Like the mighty Yellow River flowing to the sea we shall sweep the invaders from our country;

Forward to the new world! Forward!"

Such is the spirit of the youth of the Border Districts.

YOUNG COMMUNISTS PREPARE FOR CONGRESS

Almost immediately following the opening of the New York World's Fair the American Young Communist League is to hold its Ninth Annual Convention in Madison Square Garden.

Due to sit for five days, from May 11, the keynote of the Convention will be struck by the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, *Earl Browder*, who is to make an opening address on the theme, "Reshaping the world of to-day—Building the World of To-morrow."

More than 1,000 delegates and observers from all 48 States are to attend the Convention. The New York Y.C.L. has pledged itself to recruit 2,500 new members by the time of the Convention, bringing the total New York membership to 12,500.

Youth of Yugoslavia Defends the Threatened Fatherland

By Davidovitch

THE annexation of Czechoslovakia by Hitler Germany has filled with indignation the peoples of Yugoslavia, the younger generation in particular. On March 16 large youth demonstrations took place in the centre of *Belgrade*. Encouraged by the active sympathy of the crowds, the young people succeeded, despite police charges, in demonstrating for more than half an hour beneath the national flag, shouting: "Long live Czechoslovakia!" "We will defend the Yugoslav frontiers!" "Down with the Third Reich!" etc. On the same day similar demonstrations took place throughout the country in such places as *Maribor*, *Ljubljana*, *Krusevac*, etc.

The annexation of Czechoslovakia revealed to many the dangers which threaten Yugoslavia and all her peoples. The propaganda speeches broadcast from *Bari* and *Bratislava*, calling on the Croats to "follow the Slovaks"; the more and more blatant threats of Hitler's agents in Yugoslavia; events such as the flight of a German aeroplane over *Slovenia* on March 17, dropping leaflets promising the Slovenes their "liberation" for the month of June, and the invasion of Yugoslav territory, near *Ptuj*, by several hundred armed Nazis from Germany on the night of March 27-28; the concentration of Italian and German troops on the Yugoslav frontiers, and the recent invasion of *Albania* by Italian troops, all clearly indicate the risks that Yugoslavia is running—despite the official denials, the brutal press-censorship, and the capitulationist policy of the *Zetkovitch* Government. It is ever more clearly realised that a German-Italian plan is on foot for the complete destruction of Yugoslavia—a necessary preliminary to the adventure against France.

A GREAT YOUTH UNITY MOVEMENT

In the face of this grave situation, the powerful movement for the unification of the youth received a fresh impetus. In *Slovenia*—the area most immediately threatened and most assiduously "belaboured" by the Nazis—a big meeting took place at the University of *Ljubljana* after the demonstrations in *Maribor* and *Ljubljana*, as a result of which a call to the youth was issued by the Slovenian students. This document, signed by organisations of young Catholics (of the Government party), Yugoslav nationalists, and Left-wing students, states: "The serious political situation which confronts us unites us into a single student front, whereby we may be better able to express our desire to fulfil our duties towards the people and the State. We, Slovenian students, affirm that our one desire is to live in a strong Yugoslavia based on the equal rights of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. From this moment we declare that we have renounced all our internal squabbles in the interests of national unity." The appeal ends with the slogan, "For Liberty, Democracy and the Popular Will! For the Defence of the Independence of our Country!" This unity has made possible a great campaign amongst the Slovenian youth.

TWENTY ORGANISATIONS UNITED FOR THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY AND OF LIBERTY

At a conference of the chief youth organisations in *Belgrade* more than twenty national organisations were represented. An astonishing unanimity of opinion on the gravity of the situation and the tasks of the youth was revealed. A number of concrete tasks were decided, such as propaganda, the mobilisation of the youth, preparations for national defence, such as learning to shoot (in collaboration with the shooting clubs), first-aid, passive defence against air-raids, getting into the air force, etc. The conference elected a permanent committee and issued an appeal to the young generation, to all the youth organisations, and to the public, an appeal which constituted at the same time their programme of work. All the important youth organisations were present at the conference and signed the appeal, including the "Sokols," the Boy Scouts, the Student Movement, the Co-operative youth, the young women, the youth temperance societies, the Y.M.C.A., the representatives of the youth Press, etc., etc.

From the appeal, which was widely distributed throughout the country, we may quote, "The younger generation in our country considers that the first concern of every citizen and especially of the youth is preservation of our national independ-

ence and the freedom of Yugoslavia, won by the blood and sacrifices of our people. At the same time we promise to combat relentlessly every attempt of defeatism, of treachery, and of capitulation, every attempt to sap the national will to resistance. To accomplish this task, we call on all the youth organisations, all the healthy forces in the country to unite for the welfare of the nation."

TWO BASIC TASKS

To the terrible urgency of events and the devoted work of the young anti-fascists, and primarily of the Young Communists, protagonists of youth unity, to the political good sense and true patriotism of the youth organisations, which were concerned only with the welfare of their country and defeated the intrigues of the police, the Trotskyists and the Nazis, against "uniting with the Communists," is due to the achievement of this unity amongst the forces of youth, the widest unity so far achieved in Yugoslavia. The successes in Slovenia, and the frank and fraternal attitude of nearly all the Serb and Slovene youth organisations to the Croatian national problem will help the young anti-fascists in Croatia in their fight against Frankovci's fascists, the agents of Germany and Italy, and for the establishment of a Croatian youth front including all the youth, for the defence of the country and the rights of young people. The most important and most urgent task is that of the representation in this movement of the working-class youth, organised in the free trade unions. Although the working-class youth has shown clearly enough where they stand and what they are after in their trade union and cultural organisations, as well as in such organisations as the Sokols where they are also partially organised, the reactionary leaders of certain trade union federations in Yugoslavia prevent the official participation of all the young trade unionists in the youth movement for National Defence. The specious pretext of "the precarious legal position of the unions," as an excuse for non-participation, conceals the spirit of Munich and of capitulation. The working-class youth knows this, and, supported by the genuine militants in the unions and by most of the federations, is fighting to-day for the participation of the whole of the C.G.T. in the national front. The question, it seems, will be raised very soon on the National Council. The young workers, like the rest of the youth, understand how important is the widest possible participation of the working-class youth in the front of National Defence, and they mean to achieve it, despite the activities of the capitulators, the Trotskyists and the opponents of unity.

The two basic tasks of the youth of Yugoslavia are to gain the complete participation (1) of the Croat youth organisations; (2) of the young trade unionists, in the youth front of National Defence. "Only a young generation enjoying freedom and education, good health and good conditions is able to defend the country," runs a proclamation of the young anti-fascists.

THE FUTURE OF BRITISH YOUTH DEPENDS ON BALKAN RESISTANCE

The Italian invasion of Albania—despite the capitulatory attitude of the Government—has aroused resentment in the country. It is clear that this invasion is the first step towards an attack on Yugoslavia, an attack facilitated by the internal condition of Yugoslavia and the mistakes of twenty years of "Great Serb" hegemony, and in particular the mistakes of the military-fascist dictatorship of treacherous Stoyadinovitch. Yugoslavia is in danger: she can only be defended by the common effort and common resistance of all her peoples, supported by the forces of peace and democracy throughout the world. To make this possible, her internal problems must be resolved at once. The heroic struggle of the Albanian people, in the true tradition of Balkan people's struggles for independence, have already aroused the enthusiasm of the youth. The demonstration before the Albanian Legation in Belgrade on April 8 bear witness to this. The Balkan peoples are ready to defend their independence against Berlin and Rome. The youth of these peoples is actively preparing itself for this struggle. But they should not remain isolated: the great youth organisations of the democratic countries must act. They must act in concert with the youth of Yugoslavia and the other Balkan nations. The fate of the youth of Britain and France, the peace of the West, depends on the resistance of the Yugoslavian peoples, the Balkan peoples, to the aggressors of Berlin and Rome.

Nazi Penetration of Swiss Universities

By Hans Robert

THE first stages of the Nazi programme of expansion were prepared in advance by means of internal disruptive work and sabotage in the coveted countries. Nazi agents are at present at work in almost every country of the world, and are, of course, more active in the countries bordering on Germany, in particular the Scandinavian countries, the Balkans and Switzerland. One of the aspects of this undermining work, to which the Nazis attach great importance, is their penetration of the universities and of the students' circles.

All German students are members of the "German Students' Association," but all who wish to pursue their studies abroad join special groups where they receive training with a view to their utilisation as Nazi agents. Special attention is devoted to students studying in Switzerland. In every Swiss University there now exists such a group, which has to submit to a military discipline and is under the command of a leader. The group special agents, unknown to the others, make direct reports to Berlin on the progress of their work. Quite recently it was announced at the Berlin University that special facilities would be granted to students who wished to study in Switzerland, and that in addition the railway fares to the frontiers would be reduced by 50 per cent. and customs exemption granted. In Tuebingen there exists the "Swiss School camp" under the command of a certain Boigt, who also signed the offer made at the Berlin University which we quoted above. The students who intend to study in Switzerland constitute a special group in this camp, and are ideologically influenced against democratic or anti-Nazi ideas. In short they are trained to become agents who will have to mix with the people and boost the achievements of national-socialism, send reports on the economic situation, military information and finally draw up black lists.

In its edition of January 14 last the Swiss journal *Travail* published a resume of the instructions given to the Nazi students residing in Switzerland. They are as follows:

1. Anti-semitism is to be considered as an excellent means of propaganda: it is invaluable as it can pass in the eyes of the people as unpolitical and penetrate all sections of the population;
2. It is necessary to continue to arouse in all bourgeois Swiss people the fear of Communism, which constitutes the best pro-Nazi means of propaganda;
3. The unpolitical spirit which exists in the majority of Swiss universities allows the German students to carry on their political agitation without being inconvenienced by their adversaries;
4. The Swiss authorities are usually very naive: the immense majority of the German students, therefore, find at the Swiss universities the greatest freedom of movement. However, any attempt to hinder the activity of the German students at the Swiss universities should be immediately reported to Germany, where measures will be taken at once. Threats will be made to render more difficult the journeys of foreigners, regarding which the Swiss authorities are very sensitive;
5. The German students in Switzerland need not fear the threats of the police. For even if the activity of the German students should lead to conflicts with the police, guarantees are forthcoming according to which the University and police authorities will in such cases take the necessary steps in order to settle the matter in the best interests of the students.

In Geneva there has existed already for a long time a special institute where students from Germany who wish to study in this town attend lectures. In the "Swiss School Camp" students intending to go to Geneva, are given information about the lectures which they have to attend in this institution. Four professors are lecturing there. Among them is a certain Professor Hamburger, who being a Jew has been ostracised by the students and boycotted. There is Professor Hugo de Clarpede, a well-known Nazi. Professor Liebeskind is a staunch Catholic.

Quite recently, in one of his lectures, he sharply protested against the anti-Jewish pogroms in Germany; the Nazi students decided to boycott him. Professor Erich Kaden, who teaches German, is a fanatical Nazi. Thus only pro-Nazi instruction in German is available in Geneva. There is no doubt that the boycott of Liebeskind was decided on in Germany, and that the Nazi students only waited for an opportunity to carry it out.

The boycott of Professor Liebeskind called forth strong opposition among the other students, who signed a declaration of solidarity with the professors in question. Summoned before the Rector of the university they were accused of carrying on political agitation. To this charge they replied that they had not carried on political agitation, but had simply exposed the Hitler students of the Institute. For the rest, it transpired that the doyen of the Law faculty delivered a lecture before the Nazi students in the course of which he apologised for the incident which had occurred during Professor Liebeskind's course of lectures.

During the last term an association was formed for the study of German law. It is headed by a young jurist, member of the National Socialist association of jurists which is financed by Berlin. It is practically outside the control of the University, so that this association is a centre for the spread of National Socialist ideas among the Swiss students.

The leader of the Nazi students in Geneva recently received an order from Berlin, according to which the swastika is to be worn by the Nazi students on all occasions "in order to accustom the Swiss people to the sight of the swastika and to intimidate our enemies who still exist abroad."

As a result of revelations made regarding activity of Nazi students, after the incident at Geneva, protest meetings have taken place in Fribourg, Zurich, Berne and Basle. In Zurich nearly 1,500 students demonstrated in the streets, a most remarkable and unexpected number in view of the fact that the number of students attending the two universities in Zurich does not exceed 2,000. It was, perhaps, the first time in history that a movement of such an extent has arisen among the Swiss students. The United Socialist Students are endeavouring to unite the students for the defence of their liberties and the national independence of Switzerland.

MESSAGE FROM YOUTH OF BRITAIN TO YOUTH OF ITALY AND GERMANY

The youth of Britain learned with horror and anger to-day of the unprovoked aggression of the Italian Fascist Legionaries upon little Albania. Coming after the years of intervention in Spain, the annexation of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Memel, we regard this as fresh proof that the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis is the deadly enemy of mankind, of peace, democracy and progress.

We refuse to believe that you, who are of the same generation as we, are parties to these crimes against civilisation. We refuse to believe that the despotic, aggressive will of Hitler and Mussolini is your will. These monsters are your oppressors, the enemies of all youth, whether of Italy or Britain, Germany or France. With you we wish friendship and solidarity. For the Duce and the Fuehrer we can only feel hatred and enmity. We young people of Britain are building unity against Chamberlain who speaks not for Britain, but for the same class of exploiters and oppressors, who are represented by Hitler and Mussolini.

Between Hitler, Mussolini and Chamberlain there is friendship and collaboration for aggression and oppression of the people. Between us, the young people of Germany, Italy and Britain, there must be friendship and solidarity to defeat these vultures who prey on the people, robbing them of peace, happiness and progress. We, meeting in the Eleventh National Conference of the British Young Communist League, will work in this spirit and are confident that soon Chamberlain will be chased from power. We call on you to work in the same spirit, as our friends and comrades, for the defeat of Hitler and Mussolini.

Eleventh National Conference of C.L. of Great Britain.

The Struggle of Youth for the Defence of its National Independence

Declaration of the Executive Committee of the World Youth Congress

TO the Leaders of Youth Organisations.

The disappearance of the State of Czechoslovakia, victim of an act of unprovoked aggression, is a serious defeat for the cause of peace. In fact, there is a country which arrogates to itself the right to invade foreign territory, to tear up treaties and to settle differences by force. In this way, international law is being scoffed at altogether.

On August 26 in the United States, youth delegates from 45 countries declared in Article 2 of the *Vassar Pact*: "We solemnly condemn all wars of aggression launched against the political independence, territorial or administrative integrity of any State."

The executive bureau of the *World Youth Congress*, giving expression to the sentiment voiced by the youth of all countries and of all tendencies in face of an annexation which is equivalent "de jure" to a victorious war of aggression, considers that the unity of youth organisations must now more than ever be forged around this pledge. It calls upon all young people, of the greater and smaller nations alike, to set aside all that divides them and to unite with all urgency on this essential principle: *The Defence of the Independence of all Nations.*

The Executive Bureau of the World Youth Congress: Joseph Cadden (U.S.A.); Gabriel Carritt (Great Britain); Jean Dupuy (France); Camilo Garcia Sierra (Cuba); Renu Roy (India); Arturo Venegas (Chile); F. Y. Young (China); B. Shield-Collins, general secretary.

Declarations of Youth Organisations of Various Countries

POLAND

DECLARATION OF THE EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE POLISH COMMITTEE OF THE WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

The Polish Committee of the W.Y.C.—to which are affiliated among others the National Students' Union of Poland ("Liga"); the Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts; the Peasant Youth; the Union of Christian Young People; the University League of Societies of the League of Nations; the Association of Women Graduates; the Socialist Youth; the Trade Union Youth; the Democratic Club and the Union of Democratic Youth—have just published the following declaration in Warsaw:

"The shock to international co-operation of the peoples based on the principle of mutual assistance and the Covenant of the League of Nations,

"The ten-fold increase in the power of the Reich which aspires to subjugate the whole of Europe,

"The lack of courage, the hesitant and credulous attitude of the Governments of the peaceful States in the face of armed intervention and the blackmail of the aggressor States, in the face of the underground conspiracies of their agents who stir up racial hatreds and Chauvinism,

"Have caused the threat of war to weigh heavily upon the whole world, and have already deprived the Czechs and the Slovaks—sister nations of the Poles—of their independence.

"Successive concessions and capitulations have gone too far.

"In its continued advance, imperialism destroys the right of the peoples to self-determination and threatens the most

vital interests of Poland. We will oppose the aggressor not only with diplomatic protests, but also with the armed resistance of the whole nation resolved to defend the Polish on the principles of humanity and justice."

"In order to defend the integrity and independence of Poland, as well as her rights in Danzig, the whole of Polish youth is prepared to fight and to sacrifice their lives."

"The integrity, the independence and the rights of Poland will not serve as a stake for gamblers. Every Pole who accepts concessions to or compromise with the aggressor, will be considered a traitor to the Fatherland."

"We appeal to the youth of the whole world, and above all to the youth of France, Great Britain and the United States, to the youth of all nations who defend the ideal of democracy and national independence, exhorting them to unite their efforts into a common front against aggression and for the re-establishment of peaceful collaboration based on the principles of humanity and justice."

Warsaw, March 25, 1939.

SWITZERLAND

THE YOUTH COMMITTEE OF ACTION HAS JUST ISSUED A MANIFESTO

To-day, while making a promise to our people and to the world to defend our country, come what may, while declaring a struggle without quarter against the defeatists and such contemptible people in all camps we, Swiss youth, cannot honestly do this without asking of those who have stood aside until now, more sacrifice and decision for action.

If our Federal Council wishes to act upon its declarations of faith to the people and to the country, it should put an end to unemployment by the end of the year.

Switzerland will be invincible if all her forces are used in the right places. Where would our Federation be had our ancestors counted the swords and cannon of the enemy before organising their own resistance? Let us defend ourselves, too! All for peace! For a free and independent Switzerland!

YUGOSLAVIA

The Belgrade University Peace Committee held a big meeting on March 21 devoted to problems affecting Central Europe. Three thousand students participated and declared:

"The small countries—in the first place Rumania, Poland and Yugoslavia—can only guarantee their independence by uniting firmly among themselves and by relying on the Soviet Union. That is the only way of saving the small countries from destruction through German expansion. With reference to the internal situation in Yugoslavia, the meeting declared firmly and clearly that the Croat national question must be solved immediately and, following upon that, the numerous other problems which have not been settled during the past twenty years. The representatives of the youth of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro and all other parts of Yugoslavia declared that youth is ready, should the need arise, to offer their lives for the independence of their country, for the liberty and democracy of Yugoslavia, just as their elders had always done and in the spirit of their tradition."

Telegrams were sent to the youth of Rumania and Bulgaria.

CHILE

THE POPULAR FRONT GOVERNMENT ADOPTS THE PROGRAMME OF THE WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

Santiago, April 5.

The Popular Front Government of Chile has adopted the ideas, slogans and suggestions outlined at New York last summer by the Second World Youth Congress, as the programme for the development of the youth of the country.

The Minister of Labour called upon the Chilean youth, without distinction of religious or political beliefs, to unite in one organisation expressing and realising the needs and aspirations of the youth.

Supported by the recently-elected President of the Popular Front, *Jose Aguirre*, the Minister has proposed the creation of an autonomous provisional organisation composed of all the cultural, political, social, sport, art, religious and economic defence organisations of the youth.

MEXICO

UNIFICATION OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

After the unification of the Socialist and Communist youth of Mexico at the beginning of 1937, the Congress to set up the Federation of Mexican Revolutionary Youth has just taken place in Mexico on March 18, 19 and 20. The agenda was as follows:

1. The position and participation of the youth in the social struggles in Mexico.
2. The attitude of the revolutionary youth of Mexico to international problems.
3. The position of the Youth Centre in the Mexican Revolutionary Party, and its part in the political struggles.
4. Participation of the youth in solving the educational problems of the Republic.
5. Military sports organisation of Mexican youth.
6. Analysis of the worker and peasant problems (and those of the natives) and the role of the youth in solving them.
7. A study of the position of women and steps to be taken by the movement to improve this.

The congress of the *Mexican Communist Party* passed a resolution on this occasion from which we take the following extract:

"The National Congress of the Communist Party is in complete agreement with the political line, principles and organisational basis of the youth movement. It considers that the programme of the youth movement including, among other points, the struggle for the independence and democracy of the country, the struggle for the young generation of Mexico, as absolutely just."

"The National Congress of the Communist Party welcomes the attitude of the National Executive Committee of the Unified Socialist Youth of Mexico, agreeing with its work of co-operation and unity with the Mexican Revolutionary Party, and exhorting all the youth to take up the same attitude in the interest of the Mexican people and of its youth. It considers that the work of the youth section of the Revolutionary Party has, for the first time, made it possible to create throughout Mexico a strong, revolutionary youth movement of hundreds of thousands of members for the defence of the Fatherland, the revolution and the interests of the youth themselves."

LATVIA

TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE YOUNG COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Dear Comrades.

In the name of the first Congress of the Union of Latvian Working Youth, we cordially greet the Young Communist International and express our profound recognition of its untiring efforts to bring about the unity of the young workers in the different countries of the world.

In October, 1935, at the 6th Congress of the Young Communist International, the standard of the invincible unity of the working youth was raised. This Congress greeted with joy all the measures taken by the Latvian Socialist and Communist Youth in order to achieve organic unity.

It was the Union of Socialist and Communist Youth of Latvia which, following the example of the Spanish youth, actually realised unity in July, 1936.

More than two years of unified organisational work have given proof that unity is not only indispensable, but is also practicable. Proof has been given of how young Socialists and Communists can work together in the same organisation and of how fruitful this collaboration can be.

These two years of work have been the formative period of our Unity. During all this time, we have had to lead a struggle against a deeply-rooted sectarianism among the youth, to fight for mass organisations; in this struggle we can record some good results.

During this period we have forged the old Socialist and Communist youths into a united and active entity. Within the framework of our united organisation we have had to decide extremely complicated questions of organisation and principle. Our experience proves that there is no question which cannot be dealt with successfully within the framework of the unified

organisation and through democratic channels. Differences of opinion which seem insurmountable when each is following his own road, can be overcome and eliminated only in work for the common good.

We had to defend our unity against the work of the Trotskyist adventurers. Already at the time of the unification, isolated Trotskyist elements sought to retard the unity of the youth. After the unification, they actively tried to break the Union of Latvian Working Youth; and it is only thanks to the will for unity of the Socialist and Communist Youth that we succeeded in exposing the plans of the Trotskyist elements and eliminating them from our ranks.

Our Union has a great task before it, and great duties to fulfil. For five years already, Latvian youth has suffered under the yoke of the fascist dictatorship of *Ulmanis*. The danger is becoming clear to the Latvian people and its youth—the danger of an invasion by Hitler Germany and a fascist Poland and the division of Latvia between these two robber Powers.

It is our duty to establish unbreakable bonds with all the democratic and anti-fascist youth of Latvia; to rally all the forces of youth in the struggle to safeguard the independence of Latvia, against fascism and war, for peace, liberty and democracy and for a free and happy Latvia.

The Union of Latvian Young Workers will continue untiringly to establish firm connections with the International Youth Movement. Being a convinced supporter of international unity of youth, the U.L.Y.W. will make every effort to help this unity. We are sure that our example can and will serve the youth of other countries, that this example can and will encourage the supporters of unity in other countries to fight with increased ardour for the unification of the Socialist and Communist youth forces, for the establishment of international unity.

Long live the Working Youth of Latvia!

Long live the Young Communist International!

Long live the International Unity of the Working Youth of the whole world!

The Central Committee of the Union of Latvian Young Workers.

ITALY

DECLARATION OF THE COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST YOUTH COMMITTEE OF ITALY

At a particularly tragic time, when fascism has caused a terrible threat to weigh heavily upon the younger generation and upon the peoples of the whole world, the Italian Communist and Socialist youth organisations feel it necessary to make publicly clear their position of struggle against the criminal government which has dishonoured Italy for the past sixteen years.

In the first place, the Communist and Socialist Youth Organisations of Italy reaffirm the necessity for unity of the Working Youth in order to fight against the infamous policy of brigandage inaugurated at the time of the aggression against Abyssinia. It was followed by the uninterrupted despatch of troops and war materials to Spain, and reinforced by the solidarity of Italian fascism with the no-less criminal acts of Hitler in Austria, Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia and Memel.

The cry of war against France recently launched by Mussolini, underlines the will "to arm by any means, regardless of the cost, even if it means doing away with what is called civilian life altogether." Once again, while exalting his barbaric régime, Mussolini is demanding new and unprecedented sacrifices of the hungry masses and of the youth which has neither bread nor work.

But in the light of the painful experiences of the past four years, Italian youth is beginning to understand the need for struggle in order that they might escape from the terrible lot which fascism has in store for them. Even though the Italian youth is forced to wear the black shirt, he still wants to live and not to die, to know joy and not despair, to see the triumph of civilisation and not barbarism. In spite of everything, there is hope in the hearts of the great majority of young Italians for a future of peace and work, of brotherhood with all nations and real social justice. By struggle, the Italian youth will be able to secure such a future.

In order to conduct the struggle of the younger generation against fascism, unity of the working youth is essential. Conse-

quently the united action of our organisation can and should be the rallying point for the large masses of the Italian youth—however much they may be influenced by fascism—who are deeply troubled by the tragic course of recent events.

The Communist and Socialist youth have dedicated themselves to the struggle for peace. Hundreds and thousands of young people have bravely faced the hardships imposed upon them by the special tribunal. They have kept their morale high in the prisons and on the islands to which they have been deported. The names of such heroes as *Castone Sozzi*, *Marco Riccardi*, *Antonio Pesenti* and *Gian Carlo Paietta* are symbols which should mobilise the whole of the younger generation of Italy in defence of that "civilian life" which Mussolini would like to destroy completely. The fight for peace is embodied in the struggle for the economic and cultural demands of the youth in the factories, fields and schools.

If the war, desired by fascism and big capital, should break out in spite of the will of the Italian people, the Socialist and Communist youth will call upon all young Italians to help in the military defeat of fascism, for such a defeat will be a great victory for the Italian people and will open up the road for their liberation.

Down with the warlike provocation of fascism!

Long live the unity of action of the Italian working youth!

Long live the brotherhood of the peoples in the struggle against the aggressors!

Federation of Italian Communist Youth.

Federation of Italian Socialist Youth.

From the Two Hemispheres

The Union of Young Girls of France

By Danielle Casanova

IN the final resolution adopted at the 6th Congress of the Young Communist International, it was said: "The forms of organisation of youth federations cannot be the same in all countries, districts and towns. They must correspond to the concrete conditions and special tasks of the youth movement: circles and clubs satisfying the cultural, economic, occupational and political interests of youth, groups of young unemployed, young peasants, young girls, students."

THE IDEAS OF THE 6TH CONGRESS OF THE Y.C.I. GOVERNED THE FORMATION OF OUR UNION

Taking our inspiration from such advice, we founded our organisation for French girls, the Union of the Young Girls of France.

Our organisation will soon have been in existence for three years. Its first Congress took place in Paris in December, 1936. The decision to call this Congress was taken, as a result of the 8th Young Communist Congress, by a conference of 75 young women delegates.

At this Congress a manifesto was adopted which declared: "The Union of the Young Girls of France must include in its cultural and mutual aid organisation all girls and young women who share our desire to assure well-being and peace to the young girls of our country; well-being which cannot be achieved where the reactionary forces of fascism have barred the road to progress, worsened the conditions of youth, robbed youth of the freedom to express itself and to defend its legal rights."

PEACE AND WELL-BEING

This manifesto puts forward the fundamental demands of young women:

1. The right to apprenticeship, to a trade, to fair pay for work;
2. Access to higher education and professional training;
3. Effective material and moral support in case of unemployment or sickness;
4. The possibility of enjoying health and beauty through sports, by the provision of State credits for sports grounds and swimming-baths, by subsidies to clubs, rhythmic dancing classes, etc.;
5. Rational organisation of leisure;
6. Defence of the family which should be protected by the

State. Real and effective aid to young people for founding a happy home.

For the defence of peace, the Union of Young Girls of France at its first Congress demanded unity of the peace forces, unity of the peoples of the world in spite of and against those who prepare for war, unity of all French men and women who care for the security and independence of their country.

20,000 GIRLS, 700 CENTRES

Since 1937 our organisation has united behind this programme 20,000 members, in more than 700 centres. This figure has been sustained in 1938 and will be surpassed in 1939. These 20,000 girls are the workers, peasants, employees and students who have joined us in the defence of a great and just cause. In the Union, which is an independent organisation offering scope to all, the girls educate themselves, drawing lessons from their own experience, and acquiring a sense of responsibility.

In the months preceding the official constitution of their organisation, in May and June of 1936, the Young Girls of France played an enthusiastic part in the struggles for the Popular Front. They have remained devoted to this powerful movement of the French people, which has brought them collective agreements, the 40-hour week, and holidays with pay. And on November 30, 1938, when the General Strike organised by the C.G.T. took place, they stood beside their workmates in defending the social gains of the Popular Front, particularly the 40-hour week which was threatened by the Government decree-laws of October of the same year.

2,000 NEW-YEAR GIFTS TO GIRLS IN SANATORIA

The greatest campaigns undertaken by the Union of Young Girls of France have been in the direction of mutual aid. Girls are naturally sympathetic, generous, capable of much devotion and self-sacrifice when they have chosen a worthy ideal. Every time we have appealed to their generosity they have given an enthusiastic response. During the cold, miserable winter months they often brought joy and sunlight into broken homes, to uncared-for children, to sick girls. For two years in succession, 2,000 New-Year Gifts have been distributed to the young patients in sanatoria. Our girls have worked incessantly to organise practical and immediate aid for the poorest by means of work-rooms and depots where clothes, and all kinds of provisions, were gathered and then distributed.

1,750,000 FRANCS COLLECTED IN TWO MILK DAYS

Denouncing the criminal mockery of non-intervention which handed over Republican Spain to Franco, the Union of Young Girls of France organised important campaigns on behalf of the Spanish children. On two national Milk Days it collected 1,750,000 francs. During 1937 and 1938 our centres have "adopted" the fighters in the International Brigades, who were cheered by the letters of the Young Girls of France. This month we have edited a paper in Spanish for young Spanish girls who have fled to our country, and we are conducting a vast campaign for their support.

TOWARDS "FRIENDSHIP DAYS" FOR FRENCH YOUTH

On the 20th, 21st, and 22nd of next May, our Third Congress will take place, organised in the form of "Days of Friendship of the French youth."

Under the emblem of the commemoration of the French Revolution of 1789, it will honour the fight of our forefathers for social progress and liberty. It will call on the Young Girls of France to remain worthy of the glorious traditions of our people. On Saturday, May 20, at a great gathering of French girls at the Buffalo Stadium, the leader of the French Communist Party, Maurice Thorez, will speak to the members of our Union, and on the following day all the delegates will meet again to march to the Wall of the Federals to render homage, side by side with the people of Paris, to the heroes of the Paris Commune whose life and death remains an example to us.

At our Congress we will examine the best means of organising the leisure and education of our members, who are all of the age when we must laugh and enjoy ourselves, at the same time learning and fighting.

Our Friendship Days will enable us to develop our Union at a greater pace, so that it shall include in its ranks, as it ought, the best young French girls, those who have understood the prime necessity of uniting to defend the independence of their country, peace, and the future.

National Conference of Communist Students

STUDENT UNITY FOR FRENCH REVIVAL

(Robert Faure, Secretary of the Union of French Communist Students)

IT is a particularly significant fact that the first national conference of the Union of Communist students should have listened to a speech on Unity of Students for French Revival and put the debate on the national question in the forefront of the discussions.

This indicates how intelligently the French Communist students have reacted during the last few months in order to retain their leading position in the university movement.

Further, it will astonish nobody that the speaker recalled not only the great anti-Mussolini demonstrations of December 8, the demonstrations of January 26 in favour of the Spanish Republic, and the anti-Hitler demonstrations of March 18, but emphasised the leading role that the Communist students have played in the organisation and the carrying out of all these university demonstrations.

And have not the speeches of the provincial delegates equally shown how far certain provincial groups played a leading role in the similar demonstrations which took place in different provincial universities?

Here are positive examples of the activity of Communist students; if students are in general supposed to react quickly to events, the Communist students certainly react no less quickly.

FROM THE "AFFAIRE JEZE" TO THE PROTEST MARCHES AGAINST MUSSOLINI'S CLAIMS

But it would be underestimating the scope of the awakening of national sentiment amongst French students to believe that the Communist students have always been initiators of recent demonstrations of student opinion in the universities. We must remember that the idea of the marches of December 8 first originated in the law students' association. We must note, further, that purely students corporations which have always in the past held aloof from politics, or which professed themselves only anti-reactionary and anti-fascist, took up a definite stand against Mussolini's claims. And amongst them even one or two which gained a dismal notoriety at the time of the Jeze affair by their servility towards the invaders of Ethiopia.

IMPORTANCE OF THE DECEMBER DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE PROVINCES

In addition, we should not confine ourselves to the Federation of Paris students, the General Association of Students of Clermont-Ferrand, the General Association of Students of Nancy, who published protest manifestos; this new activity showed itself in numbers of provincial towns, such as Dijon, Montpellier, Rennes, Toulouse, Algiers and Lyons, where the General Associations were at the head of processions, marches, parades which took place at the beginning of December.

We should also be according less than justice to the depth of the awakening of national sentiment if we did not mention that in many large schools, notably the High School in the rue d'Ulm, the Girls' High School at Sèvres, the Technical High School, practically all the pupils signed petitions demanding the opening of the Franco-Spanish frontier at the time of the terrible events in Catalonia. That even the ex-followers of Herr Doriot signed such a petition is a sufficient indication of the revival of true patriotism at the Universities.

THE COMMUNIST STUDENTS AND THE NATION

It is of primary importance, therefore, as the speaker pointed out, that French Communist students should possess an adequate theoretical understanding of the national question.

They must be able to confront the mythical and racial "conceptions" of the nation—especially the latter, which destroys the unity of the national culture, buries the national cultural heritage, splits up the spiritual community by opposing the biological to the rational, the unconscious to lucidity, the primitive to the modern, and similarly breaks up the social community by setting young against old, unemployed against

employed—with our scientific conception which sees in the nation "a stable community, historically developed, of language, territory, economic life and psychological formation, all of which compose a community of culture." (Stalin.)

It is also necessary for Communist students to understand exactly why to-day the working class, without in the least abandoning its internationalism, has become the backbone of the nation.

If they have a clear understanding of all these things, if they are convinced that "we can only defend our country if the winds of freedom blow," as *Jacques Duclos* said on March 23, then they will better understand that to defend France is also to defend liberty, democracy and culture against fascism and its agents in this country.

They will better understand the ever-increasing necessity, of uniting all the students who are opposed to the fascist threats of Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, of promoting a great movement of French students for the defence of the nation and of liberty.

They will put more ably into practice the final resolution, which states: "The national conference knows that the French students, condemning the ideas and the actions by which the supporters of fascism attempt to weaken France, are ready to place their efforts at the service of the country and of the people."

It concludes its work, assured that the Communist students, conscious of the role which the young intellectuals can play in the revival of the country, will always be the most worthy and the most active representatives of the noble traditions of French students for work, liberty and national honour.

National Parliament of British Youth

THE National Parliament of Youth, which took place in the Seymour Hall, London, on March 24, 25 and 26, was one of the most momentous occasions in the history of the British Youth Movement. It was the first of its kind in this country. It was organised entirely by youth—all organisations which took part were youth organisations and it was the "under 30's" who were voicing their own opinions in their own Parliament.

600 M.P.'s were present representing 27 national organisations. These were as follows—The British Association of Residential Settlements, British Federation of Co-operative Youth, British Universities League of Nations Society, Central Youth Council of the Church of England, Congregational Union Young People's Department, Federation of University Conservative and Unionist Associations, Federation of University Women's Camps for School girls, Federation of Indian Students in Great Britain, Federation of Zionist Youth, Girls' Friendly Society, Inter-University Jewish Federation, League of Nations Union Junior Branches, League of Nations Union Youth Groups, National Brotherhood Movement Youth Committee, National Council of Girls' Clubs, National League of Young Liberals, National Union of Students, Order of Woodcraft Chivalry, Regnal League, Student Christian Movement, the Girl Guides Association, Union of University Liberal Societies, University Labour Federation, Vatik Habonim, Young Communist League, Young Methodists, Young Women's Christian Association. Members of Parliament were elected on the basis of national membership, e.g., organisations with a membership over 50,000 sent 30 members; 30,000 to 50,000 members sent 25 and so on down the scale until those under 2,000 were allotted 5 places. In addition there were 100 places reserved for clubs, schools, Trade Union Youth Committees and other individual bodies not affiliated to national organisations.

In the clubs the election of M.P.'s became the occasion for "mock elections" with the young candidates really putting up a fight to be the M.P. from their club.

In all details the session of Parliament followed as closely as possible the procedure adopted at Westminster. Friday night's session, which was the opening of Parliament was a revelation. The body of the hall was laid out so that the M.P.'s sat in a group in their organisations. The hall was one of the finest in London. All the colourings, chairs, carpets, etc., were extremely modern. There were some empty seats in the House which were reserved for M.P.'s who had not yet arrived from the provinces. The Strangers' Gallery was packed tight with visi-

tors, who had come to hear their M.P.'s. The number of school girls in the Gallery was particularly noticeable.

Promptly at 8 o'clock a bell was rung. All M.P.'s began to take their places. The opening session was about to begin. First of all the House stood silent for Prayers. When Prayers were finished the secretary of the Youth Parliament asked the youngest member of the House to come forward and propose the speaker. This was seconded and Mr. E. Wallis-Jones, an M.P. from the University Labour Federation, was elected as the speaker.

His first task was to read the King's speech. This was the only time during the whole session when the work of the Parliament was considered as a whole. The following sentence in the King's Speech briefly sums up its contents:—

"Therefore, is this Parliament here assembled that you, the representatives of the youth, may join together and, together learn the true nature, the strength and the weakness of the democracy of Britain."

The speech further touched on the various Bills to be brought before Parliament, in order to destroy the existing evils in our country and further improve our democracy. The address to the speech, having been moved and accepted, there were then several additions which had been submitted by various participating organisations. There was discussion on each addendum and then the House voted. Those addendums carried included—the better organisation of industry and elimination of waste; the interdependence of youth and adults; condemnation of German aggression and the formation of a peace bloc based on an agreement between Britain, France and the U.S.S.R.; immediate steps for the agricultural industry. At 10 of the clock the leader of the House moved suspension of Standing Orders and at 10.20 of the clock the House adjourned.

On Saturday, the business began at 10 a.m. The first job was the second reading of each of the various Bills. The first bill to be considered was the Education Bill. It was prepared and submitted by the National Union of Students. It was "A Bill to amend the law with respect to the school-leaving age and attendance at school; to enable local education authorities to make more adequate provision for the education of children and for their medical examination and treatment; and for purposes connected with the matters aforesaid." It roughly contained the following demands—No fees at any schools, raising of school-leaving age to 16 with maintenance grants; free meals; special schools for defective children; health facilities. After some discussion the bill was voted upon and being carried, passed its second reading and went into committee stage.

The next bill to be debated was the Youth Labour Bill. "A Bill to regulate the hours and conditions of young persons employed in any industry, factory, shop, wholesale shop, office, workshop, institution or other place of work, and to provide paid holidays for such young persons." The chief clauses in this bill were—40-hour week; no overtime under the age of 16, two weeks' holiday with pay. That was Part I of the Bill. Part II dealt with Offices Regulations, covering the sanitary arrangements in offices; the 40-hour week and holidays with pay. The Bill was presented by the British Youth Peace Assembly and the National Council of Girls' Clubs and needless to say, it was carried unanimously at its second reading.

The next Bill up for discussion was the Peace Bill "A Bill to incorporate in the status law of the United Kingdom those obligations in regard to the maintenance of peace and of machinery for the peaceful settlement of disputes which are embodied in the Covenant of the League of Nations and in other treaties, and for other purposes." This, as its title implies, laid down that the Covenant of the League of Nations should have the force of law and any disputes arising between countries should be peacefully settled by methods which arise out of the Covenant of the League of Nations. There was very heated discussion over this Bill and finally it passed its second reading by 225 votes to 103.

The next bill did not provide for such lively discussion. It was the Health Bill, "A Bill to amend the law with respect to the health services and for other purposes." This dealt with the extension of benefits under the National Health Insurance Act, reorganised panel patients, etc. This Bill, which was very well thought out and presented by the University Labour Federation, had nobody against it and passed its second reading unanimously.

We then came to the **Nutrition Bill**, "A Bill to enable food production and distribution to be planned in relation to the nutritional requirements of the population and to provide for the supply of milk and other foods to expectant and nursing mothers, children and young persons." While the general principles of this Bill were excellent, as can be seen from the title, the Bill was very complicated and delved into subjects which were not too familiar to the average youth. Chief of these was the question of the Marketing Boards. The Bill called mostly for a **National Food Planning Commission** with full powers for the re-organisation of food planning. The second part of this Bill dealt with supplementary feeding—milk for necessitous people, free school meals for all and canteens attached to places of work. Again there was no disagreement with the principles of the Bill and it, therefore, passed its second reading.

The next on the order of the day was the **Housing Bill**—"A Bill to constitute and determine the functions of a National Housing and Planning Board and to grant powers for the due performance of those functions and for other purposes." The building of proper houses and rent restrictions occupied the majority of the Bill. This, too, passed its second reading.

Last but not least was the **Indian Independence Bill**. I would just like to mention here that, unlike our Senior Body at Westminster, Indian M.P.'s were just as much a part of the House as the British M.P.'s and played an equal part in determining the legislation for the British Empire. The Indian student was given a tremendous ovation on rising to present the Bill. He put the case for Indian Independence in a very clear and convincing manner. He and the seconder of the Bill, spoke in a very cultured and concise way and they themselves certainly dispelled any doubts as to whether the Indian people were capable of ruling for themselves or not. The Bill was to convene a Constituent Assembly to frame a constitution for India. There was some discussion on the Bill, but there was no doubt at all as to the sympathy of the House for the Indian people. The Bill easily passed its second reading.

This had brought us to the afternoon session, which was devoted to **Private Members' Motions**. There was one presented by the **Federation of Zionist Youth** on the question of persecution of the Jews and others in the Fascist countries and practical proposals for relief and assistance to the refugees. There was one by the **British Youth Peace Assembly** on the unemployed and the Means Test advancing concrete proposals for the solution of this problem. Another by the **University Labour Federation** on the colonial question and one by the **National Youth Campaign on National Service**. All these were keenly debated and were then voted on and carried.

At 5.30 of the clock the House was adjourned "in order to discuss matters of public urgency." The House then proceeded to discuss the international situation and the foreign policy of the Government. After a lively discussion the motion for adjournment was passed, which in effect was a vote of censure on the Government. The House was then adjourned for the day.

Sunday was entirely taken up in the committee stages of the Bills. My committee—to discuss the Health and Nutrition Bills—proved to be extremely interesting, as did all the other committees. The main purpose of the committees was to discuss all the amendments sent in to the bills, put forward any others and generally to prepare the Bill in its amended form for the Third Reading.

At 6.30 the House was then called together and the Bills presented for their **Third Reading**. At this stage we were allowed to delete certain sections of the Bill or amendments to the Bill, but were not allowed to amend it any further. After keen and interesting discussion again, all the bills were passed. Here again the Indian delegates showed their great sincerity in their participation in the Parliament. There had been no amendments sent in at all to the Bill and, while they thought the sympathy of the House was definitely with the Indian people, they felt that the members were not sufficiently conversant with the Indian problem and it would, therefore, be wrong to pass such a Bill at our Parliament. They, therefore, withdrew the Bill and expressed the hope that it would be used for further education on the subject. They were warmly received for this act and a

resolution was unanimously passed, which was proposed by the **Young Communist League**—calling for further education on this subject in the organisations, until such time as we were able effectively to pass such a Bill.

After the usual thanks, etc., were given, the Parliament adjourned "to be recalled at some near date in the future."

One important feature at our Parliament was the fact that we had two distinguished visitors in the persons of the "**Belgian Ambassador**" and the "**American Ambassador**."

Just in summing up, I feel we can justly say that the Parliament was something the British Youth can be proud of. Its educational value was enormous—its organisation was about as perfect as one could imagine—and its reality and sincerity was unparalleled by anything the Youth Movement has done so far.

We must now see to it that the discussion on the bills goes on in all the organisations—that the bills become of real educational value. We must conduct mass agitation around the bills until such time as, through the public support we have managed to gain, we get the "real" Parliament to make them "real" things.

This must not be the last session of the Parliament, but it must continue and draw ever wider sections of the youth into it.

The Youth Parliament, above all things, proved to the people of Britain that the youth were democratic, were against Fascist aggression and were prepared to do anything still further to extend British democracy and save peace.

The Fight of the Youth of Canada

By Dave Kashtan (Canada)

THE Canadian democratic youth movement is growing. **W. D. Herridge** (former Canadian Minister to Washington) recently pointed out that youth is playing an important part in the new democratic movement. Canadian young people are taking up the challenge—to bring security to the younger generation and increased educational and recreational opportunities.

In universities, high schools, in numerous youth organisations and in many communities; through the Canadian Youth Congress movement and its *twenty-one youth councils*, spread throughout the Dominion, young people are taking a bolder part in the great struggle to make democracy work, for work and wages, for the unemployed youth, and for peace.

According to figures brought to light by the research bureau of the Canadian Youth Congress movement, 455,000 young people are without gainful employment. This, together with other startling facts regarding the conditions of youth, has brought public opinion to its support. Mainly due to the efforts of the Canadian Youth Congress movement, the Dominion Government launched a *Youth Training programme* two years ago. "The Dominion Government offered to share with the provinces dollar for dollar, the cost of a training and employment programme for young people, 16 to 30 years of age." In 1937 the Government expended \$1,000,000 for distribution amongst the provinces. For 1938-39 the sum was increased to \$1,750,000. Recently a resolution was placed before Parliament by the Minister of Labour, Hon. N. Rogers, proposing an appropriation of \$4,500,000 for a period of three years.

Where there has been provincial co-operation many young people have benefited by this scheme. Each province is free to select the training courses and work projects and is only asked to agree upon certain details.

From April, 1937, until November, 1938, a total of 77,878 young people in Canada received training. However, the provincial governments of *Quebec* and *Ontario* sabotaged this training scheme. The Ontario Government only made use of 40 per cent of the grant, compared to the full use made of it in the Western provinces, even though the province has more young people than in all the four Western provinces combined.

The provincial Government of *British Columbia* has used part of the Federal appropriation for the further development of its *Youth Recreation programme*. More than 155 recreation centres have been established throughout the province, leaders'

training courses have been organised and to-day this democratic recreation movement has registered about 30,000 young people. The Provincial Recreation centre movement has been extended into the province of Alberta and, although only a few months old, has registered more than 6,000 youth. It is believed that the provincial Government of Saskatchewan, Manitoba and in the Maritimes are now considering launching the same recreational programme.

However, the principal problem facing young people—jobs—remains unsolved. Even though the Government is putting emphasis on placement of youth in jobs, it cannot create those jobs out of thin air. Youth want training, but they want work and decent wages too. The Young Communist League, fully realising the plight of the unemployed youth, issued the slogan of "Jobs for Youth" at its 8th National Convention. It is meeting with wide support.

The Canadian Youth Congress, deeply concerned with the problems of the unemployed youth, initiated a nation-wide "Job for Youth" campaign. Outside of the major youth organisations, the campaign is being fully supported by government and social welfare bodies, trade unions and other adult organisations. In Montreal and Toronto successful "Jobs for Youth" conferences were organised. Youth delegations have gone to provincial and municipal governments. On March 3, the Youth Congress sent a delegation, composed of representatives of national youth organisations, to meet with the Dominion Minister of Labour, Hon. Norman Rogers, and presented a brief to the Federal Government. Whilst congratulating the Government upon its Youth Training programme, the delegation brought forth constructive proposals which meet with the support of the overwhelming majority of the Canadian people.

The main points brought out in the brief were:

- (a) launching of a large-scale works programme;
- (b) establishment of a National Youth Administration and national and provincial Youth Advisory Committees.

(At a conference of fifty leaders of the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training programme a resolution was sent to Hon. Rogers endorsing the proposal of the C.Y.C. regarding Youth Advisory Committees). The Canadian Student Assembly, representing most of Canada's universities, also sent a delegation of more than 100 students to Ottawa. The delegation proposed that the Government institute a national scholarship system for needy students. Both delegations were well received and some of the proposals made will be incorporated in the Government Youth Training plan.

Due to the growing demand for a works programme, a National Youth Administration, etc., the reactionaries, together with leaders of the Canadian Corps association, have proposed and are campaigning for the establishment of a military camp system for the unemployed youth. They propose that the Federal Government spend \$50,000,000 for that purpose and that it set up ten military camps which would house 50,000 young unemployed. However, this proposal is meeting with much opposition. The Canadian people made their position clear on the matter of military camps at the time of the reign of iron-heel Bennett (former Prime Minister of Canada, defeated in the 1935 Federal elections) who had set up semi-military camps, but which were abolished by the King Government in 1935. Canadian youth favours those camps which are necessary to carry through an effective reforestation and road building programme, etc., and which will pay young people decent wages. Canadian young people have made the following proposals which would guarantee them jobs: starting the long-debated St. Lawrence Seaway Project, completion of the Trans-Canada Highway, a large-scale housing programme, and slum-clearance.

A new "phenomenon" in the Canadian scene is the appearance of the "Leadership League," an organisation given birth by Canadian Big Business, in order to win the confidence of the people for their reactionary anti-democratic programme. With their demagogic programme they are making special attempts to influence young people and to weaken the growing democratic youth movement.

Whilst taking greater interest in their domestic problems, Canadian youth are thoroughly aroused to the latest events in

Europe. For this reason, it is expected that the coming 4th Canadian Youth Congress which will take place in Winnipeg on June 30 to July 2 will be a great event. Meeting for the first time out west, it is expected that many young people from rural communities will attend.

Provincial Youth Congresses are being organised in Quebec, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. The first provincial farm youth Congress will take place in Saskatchewan. According to a call issued to all youth organisations the following commissions will be set up at the Congress: Agricultural Youth and Canada, Job Security—Jobs for Youth—Youth at Work, Training Young Citizens, A National Youth Administration, Freedom and Unity in Canada, Canadian Youth's Peace Policy.

Canadian youth are becoming a more effective force in the fight for social security, democracy and peace.

In the Country of Socialism

Soviet Youth and Socialist Construction

SOVIET YOUNG COMMUNISTS ASSUME
RESPONSIBILITY FOR WORLD'S BIGGEST
ENGINEERING PROJECTS

Moscow, April 22.

The completion and construction of some of the world's biggest engineering projects is to be assured by the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union following the plenary session of the Central Committee of the movement just concluded here.

Called to decide on the practical application of the decisions of the 18th Congress of the C.P.S.U.(B.), the eight-million strong Soviet youth movement has assumed responsibility for:

1. The creation of the world's most important hydro-electric works at Kuybishev, on the Volga and at the coal basin near Moscow;
2. The creation of the "Second Baku" oil centre between the Volga and the Ural.
3. The creation of the great Soviet maritime and ocean fleet.

This patronage involves not only occasional celebration meetings on commemoration days but the mobilisation of the youth for work in the construction shops, the formation of workers' and engineers' leaders, and a struggle for the execution of the task to time, the delivery of orders, in short the entire construction.

The Soviet Young Communists have also assumed the responsibility for the creation of the first important metallurgic enterprises in the Far East on the river Amur.

Volunteers have already started to enrol for the construction of the new railway between Akmolinsk and Kartali, to be built on the initiative of the young Communist railwaymen of the Ukrainian town of Poltava.

The railway, more than 500 miles long, will have tremendous importance in reducing the transport of Karaganda coal to the important industrial centre of Magnitogorsk by half and developing the economy of Kazakhstan.

The Central Committee of the Young Communist League, calling the Soviet youth to participate actively in the solution of these problems, is to take active part in developing and finding the skilled workers necessary for these tasks.

More than 20,000 new skilled workers will be needed for the construction of the Kartali railway; and a new detachment of 100,000 girl tractor drivers is to be formed among the girls of the collective farms to continue and develop work there.

Pasha Angelina, and other girl tractor drivers at present studying at the agricultural colleges, are to take the initiative

in forming this new army of agricultural workers, while the Y.C.L. will make sure that the tasks assigned by Stalin to the collective farms, of sending 1,500,000 young collective farmers into industry, is fulfilled and others found to take their places. The young Communists are to head the struggle of the young collective farmers for a good harvest in 1939 and the right to participate in the Agricultural Exhibition of the Soviet Union.

New forces for all backward branches of Soviet economy, such as forestry and river transport, are to be founded by the Y.C.L., and one of its primary tasks is the development of the wealth of the Far East, so far unexploited owing to the lack of skilled labour.

Actively carrying into practice the tasks assigned by the 18th Congress of the Soviet Union as essential for the mass organisation of Soviet youth, the decisions of the plenary session of the Central Committee have marked a turn towards the active participation of the youth in the work of the Soviet State, as well as in all sections of Soviet construction.

Having already achieved striking successes in the building of the subterranean palaces of the Moscow Metro, the town of Komsomolsk, the Communist youth are to utilise the Third Five-Year Plan as the motive force of a gigantic nation-wide competition between the youth of the country to achieve the realisation of the Plan in the shortest possible time.

"The decisions of the plenum," declared a statement issued after the meeting, "assure the most active participation of the Communist youth organisations in the economic work of the State in the struggle for the accomplishment of the historic task, to catch up and overtake, in the course of the next 10 and 15 years, the most advanced capitalist countries. The plenum of the Central Committee of the Young Communists has assigned the youth of the Soviet country the tasks, in all their amplitude, which result from the new historic situation constituted by the gradual transition from Socialism to Communism."

The Central Committee also adopted a series of decisions for the intensification of educational work among the Young Communists to develop their leaders in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The plenum also emphasised the importance of the young Communist organisations strengthening their work in the schools and among the teachers, and for the formation of new contingents for the Red Army.

Great attention is to be paid to the development and improvement of cultural work in town and country.

Learn and Comprehend

The States General and their Transformation into the Constituent Assembly

By Paul Bouthonier

THE news of the convocation of the States-General, which was decided by Louis XVI on August 8, 1788, was received with joy by the people, who had thus gained its first victory over monarchist absolutism. The king was about to consult the nation, and the nation would at last be able to submit to the king its grievances and ask him for redress.

THE STATES-GENERAL, AN ANCIENT MONARCHIST INSTITUTION

What exactly were these States-General, the election of which had been demanded with such stubbornness, and which assembled at Versailles on May 5, 1789?

The States-General, an extremely old institution of the monarchy, formed an assembly composed of representatives of the three orders of the old society: the nobility, the clergy, and the "third estate," which latter meant the people, and more particularly, the bourgeoisie.

The first States-General met in 1302. At that time, King Phillip IV, "the Fair," who was in conflict with Pope Boniface VIII, wished to obtain the support of the people. He therefore solemnly convoked the representatives of the nobility, the clergy, and the "commons," or bourgeoisie.

After this, each time the kings of France had need of money they asked the consent of the States-General to levy fresh taxes.

When the States-General met in Paris in 1355, during the Hundred Years' War, they claimed the right to exercise supervision over the funds which they were called upon to vote. The bourgeois, who already aspired to play a part in politics, planned the transformation of the States-General—which were convoked only occasionally—into a kind of parliament meeting several times a year and empowered to control the acts and finances of the king.

This is why, in 1356, under the regency of Dauphin Charles—King John II, "the Good," having been taken prisoner by the English at Poitiers—Etienne Marcel, the rich provost of the merchants of Paris demanded that the States-General be made a permanently functioning organism.

But Dauphin Charles did not keep the pledges he had made. He caused Etienne Marcel to be assassinated; and this particular attempt of the bourgeoisie failed.

After this warning the kings of France took care not to summon the States-General frequently. They called them very rarely, in fact. When they were summoned by Louis XVI, and met in 1789, they had not met for 175 years. French royalty, in fact, had meant to ignore them.

THE PETITIONS OF THE THIRD ESTATE

But during the years 1787 and 1788 popular discontent was so great that the king had to yield. He even agreed to something which was quite unprecedented: that the representatives of the Third Estate be as numerous as those of both nobility and clergy combined.

The elections began on February, 1789. In general, the election was in two stages for the deputies of the Third Estate. The nobility and clergy designated their representatives by direct suffrage at assemblies held in each province.

In electing the deputies for the Third Estate, all Frenchmen, 25 years old or more, who were inscribed on the roll as payers of direct taxes, were called in the primary assemblies to designate their delegates, and these latter, met together in the chief town of the bailiwick, chose one fourth of their number. And these, in their turn, formed the general assemblies of each province, charged with the election of the deputies of the Third Estate to the States-General.

The people took a stand unanimously against the privileged classes. *Seyès*, in a famous pamphlet entitled "What is the Third Estate?" vividly expressed the feeling of the people:

"The Third Estate is nothing. What could it be? Everything. If the privileged order were removed, the nation would not be something less but something more. The Assembly of the Third Estate represents 25,000,000 men and deliberates on the interests of the nation.

"The other two (of the clergy and of the nobility), if they were to meet, receive their power only from 200,000 of the privileged.

"They say that the Third Estate cannot form the States-General. Well! So much the better! It will form a national assembly."

The royal order which laid down the method of election enjoined "giving the electors all powers and all instructions to propose, advise and approve everything which concerns the needs of the state."

It was under these conditions that the petitions of 1789 were drawn up and then voted.

The petitions of the Third Estate, in particular, have great documentary value. They set forth the popular demands to the last detail, and show an admirable unity of viewpoint.

In a moving but concrete manner they describe the misery of the people and of the countryside and vigorously voice their aspirations.

The petitions of the Third Estate make the following demands:

1. The suppression of feudal rights, the abolition of the corporations and of tolls and internal duties.

2. The equality of everyone in liability to taxation, paid according to the income or fortune of each person.
3. The suppression of monarchist absolutism and the establishment of a constitution defining the rights of the king and of the nation, and guaranteeing the rights and liberties of the citizen.

FROM MAY 5, 1789, TO THE FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

At the moment when the States-General met at Versailles—on May 5, 1789—the people was aroused in both town and country. The people, in fact, was about to play a great and decisive part in the course of the tremendous events which were soon to occur and which were to conclude with the suppression of the feudal regime, the monarchy destroyed, and the proclamation of the First Republic and of democratic liberties.

Right from the first session of the States-General, a conflict broke out between the king and the deputies of the Third Estate on the question of the vote. Until then, the three orders had always deliberated separately: each order then registering one vote, in accordance with the decision of its majority. Thus the nobility and clergy were always automatically assured of a majority. The king and court wished to maintain this method, with the object of obstructing the fundamental reforms demanded by the people.

The deputies of the Third Estate, however, who numbered as many as those of both nobility and clergy combined—they were 598 out of a total representation of 1,196—demanded that the deliberations be held in common and that voting be *per capita*.

In this manner they were sure of a majority, for some of the nobles and of the clergy—numerous poor priests—were in favour of granting the popular demands written in the petitions of grievances.

For a whole month this question of voting was discussed without coming to a decision. Finally, on June 17, 1789, the Third Estate decided that the States-General should be transformed into a Constituent Assembly.

On June 19, 1789, the clergy approved this decision by 249 votes to 137. A number of deputies of the nobles did likewise. And thus was the National Constituent Assembly, the assembly of the people, formed. This constituted a great step in advance in the assertion of the sovereign rights of the nation.

Faced by this setback to their policy, the king and court sought to prevent the new Assembly from meeting. The hall of the Hotel des Menus-Plaisirs, where the States-General had been sitting, was closed. Louis XVI declared that the decision of June 17—that the States-General be converted into a Constituent Assembly—was null and void. He ordered the National Assembly to meet separately, according to the three orders. This was on June 20, 1789. But the Constituent Assembly, meeting in the tennis courts, took its famous oath "never to separate and to assemble wherever circumstances might demand, until the constitution of the kingdom was established."

Once more, on June 23, the king forbade the three orders to meet in the same hall, and when the Marquis de Dreux-Brézé came in the king's name to order the deputies to leave the tennis courts building, Bailly, president of the Assembly, replied:

"I do not think the assembled nation can take orders."

And in his turn, Mirabeau addressed the following famous words to the king's envoy:

"Go tell those who sent you that we are here by the will of the people and that nothing but the force of bayonets shall send us hence!"

Louis XVI was thus forced to yield. He could not rely upon his troops. The people of Versailles and of Paris supported the Assembly.

This resistance of the Constituent Assembly stimulated the action of the masses who, three weeks later, with the taking of the Bastille were to proclaim liberty and destroy feudal oppression.

Book Reviews

The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*

By J. Ducroux

WRITING in the Leipzig *Demokratisches Wochenblatt*, on March 21, 1868, and welcoming the publication, the previous year, of Karl Marx's *Capital*, Frederick Engels said:

"Since there have been capitalists and workers on the earth, no book has appeared which has for the workers the importance of this present book."

Without risk of exaggeration one may assert that the *History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* belongs to that half-dozen of essential books which forms the indispensable nucleus of every militant's, of every class-conscious worker's, library. Together with *Capital*; the *Communist Manifesto*; *Imperialism: the Highest Stage of Capitalism*; *State and Revolution*; and *Leninism*, the *History of the C.P.S.U.* will become one of the most effective weapons for the struggle, and for the education of both manual and mental workers of all countries. And, of all these fundamental works, it is with the *History of the C.P.S.U.* that we must henceforth begin the study of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

This remarkable book is, in the first place, a substantial introduction to the science of Socialism; it is a book which is an epitome edited by a commission of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party and approved by the Central Committee. It is also well known that Comrade Stalin himself played a considerable part in the work of the commission, and an attentive study of the book will reveal numerous passages in which the reader will easily detect the clear style and concise, solid, vigorous and always lucid method of the author of *Leninism*.

But it would yield only an extremely inadequate view of this book were we to rest content with describing it as an introduction to scientific Socialism. It is doubtless an introduction because of its extreme accessibility for readers of all conditions and all degrees of culture, by its simple language, in which no new term occurs without an accompanying explanation, and by its systematic and detailed exposition of all questions of Marxism-Leninism. But once we have said this, we are compelled to add that this introduction finally leads us to the very heart of the subject of which, in fact, it forms a complete manual; and in which the diligent and studious reader may find a guide for the solution of all problems set by the present political struggle.

One of the most important characteristics of the *History of the C.P.S.U.* is that in its pages questions are dealt with in such manner, with such scientific precision in the use of the Marxist method, that there emerges with sharp distinction the inseparable unity of Marxist-Leninist theory and the practice of the revolutionary proletarian movement. Nothing is treated abstractly. Each new acquisition of Marxism is developed, explained, analysed as the product of the direct experience of a particular phase of the working-class movement, of experience which itself arises from specific historical circumstances. At each stage in its rich history the Bolshevik Party has been able clearly to see the conditions prevailing at the moment and to find slogans which would rally the masses under such conditions. Each time that admirable compass the Marxist method, has indicated the right road for the Party, for the working class, and, behind it, the whole Russian people. A profound study of this experience should develop in the reader a taste for initiative and personal thought, and should also contribute towards the formation of cadres of militants who know how to act in the most complicated situations. Throughout the course of the struggle of the Bolshevik Party, Lenin and Stalin have given numerous and brilliant instances of the manner in which Marxism must be conceived and applied: not as a solidified dogma, but as a science in constant development, nourished by the daily practice of the

*English Edition, 350 pages, 1s. 6d. Foreign Department, Collier's Bookshop.

revolutionary struggle and illuminating the latter which enriches itself from it.

This book constitutes the greatest summing-up, drawing of a balance-sheet, that has ever been made hitherto of a revolutionary party. Within the comparatively short period of 40 years this amazing book leads us on, from revolutionary groups which appeared lost, isolated, in tsarist Russia, to the homogeneous and coherent Party, united as a block of steel, which leads a vast country with its numerous peoples along the road of Socialism. The twelve chapters of the *History of the C.P.S.U.* conduct us on this journey from a Russia politically and economically backward to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, with its new Stalinist constitution: the most politically advanced country in the world, whose agriculture is pre-eminent and whose industry now rivals those of the principal capitalist countries. It is precisely in the rapid character of this complete transformation of a huge country that there emerges most clearly the decisive role of the Bolshevik Party, of that Marxist revolutionary Party of the working class which is both its vanguard and its general staff. This is a most valuable lesson to the workers of all countries, who will more and more come to recognise in the Communist Party the leading organisation of the struggle, capable of leading them to the final decisive victory, of leading them to Communism.

With the publication in 1848 of the *Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels, Socialism emerged from the domain of fantasy to enter that of science. With the *History of the C.P.S.U.* Socialism and Communism are no longer scientific, rigorous, and even certain, estimates; Socialism and Communism become tangible, controllable, calculable, realities. Such is the programme realised on one-sixth of the earth's surface, and which therefore acquires added vitality and authority for the other five-sixths where the struggle still continues to bring about its triumph here also.

This is why the reading of the *History of the C.P.S.U.* is an incomparable source of enthusiasm and faith in the great cause of Communism. In the disturbed days through which the workers—and particularly the youth—in the capitalist countries are now passing, this account of the struggles of the Bolsheviks, of their heroism and their victories, increases tenfold one's confidence in the final result of that struggle which is arraying against each other on all the earth the forces of fascism and anti-fascism. The *History of the C.P.S.U.*, which will be read and studied the world over, will increase the courage and energy of the anti-fascists and strengthen the will of millions of young people, who will discover in it the revelation of the grandeur of this cause to which it is worth devoting one's life.

Young workers, peasants, and intellectuals will discover particular value in the study of the *History of the C.P.S.U.*

This book brings to the youth the quintessence of an incomparable experience. It traces the path of liberated youth, of young Stakhanovites, of parachutists, young scientists—a whole young generation that expands and rids itself of ancient constraint. This, then, is where the Soviet youth stands. And to arrive at this place, one must fight like this, the *History of the C.P.S.U.* tells us. Young people of all countries, do you not think it worth while? For you, who are oppressed by poverty or gnawed by doubt, who seek amidst the shadows for a cause—here is one. Adopt it as your cause. It has been tried and tested. It is true, one must fight. But that is the condition of success and of your happiness. He who desires the end, will embrace the means. Cowardice and resignation to slavery are surely alien to youth.

It is not enough merely to read through the *History of the C.P.S.U.* One must study it. We should become permeated with its spirit, not merely learn words by rote. We should grasp the living soul of Marxism expressed here in its pages. And then we shall become ardent for the ideal, for the cause whose struggles are here described, and which led to its triumph in a great country.

"There are no short cuts or royal roads in science; and only those have a chance of attaining its shining summits who are not afraid of becoming tired in climbing its steep ways."

So wrote Marx in March 18, 1872. This applies also to the *History of the C.P.S.U.* To read it through once, rapidly and superficially, neither suffices nor profits.

Nevertheless, the reader's task is greatly facilitated by the clarity and simplicity of the work. Thousands of men and women in all parts of the world may read and understand it. Never has a book had such a public, from the moment of its appearance.

One can hardly exaggerate the significance of this book's appearance. It is a new weapon placed at the disposal of toiling humanity. It is a precious seed which promises a magnificent harvest. The youth of all countries will be among the first who will seek to benefit by this great book.

Sports Movement

Sport in the Country of the Soviets

SOVIET PILOTS FLY EVER FARTHER AND HIGHER WITH GLIDING PLANES

SOVIET aviation is a powerful lever for the maintenance of world peace and a factor of first importance for the economic and cultural progress of humanity. During the last year gliding pilots, as well as aviators and builders of miniature models, have attained striking new successes. They have won numerous world records for the Soviet Union in the sphere of aviation. Recently the central aeronautical club of the U.S.S.R. issued its report for 1938. It shows a record balance, from which we quote the following extracts, about gliding.

In April, 1938, pilot N. Makarov, in the glider CH-11, with his passenger Golovikov, beat the international duration record, previously held by a German pilot, by carrying out a flight lasting 19 hours 8 minutes.

In May, pilot Ilchenko, with the glider Stakhanovitch, with a passenger, established a new world record for distance. He flew more than 522 kilometres in a straight line.

In the same glider, in June, Ilchenko made still another record with a passenger, this time for a return flight without landing.

In the same month, Ilchenko, Korotov and Rastorguev beat a series of gliding records along a previously fixed route. Their team flew from Toula to Moscow (180 kilometres) and from Moscow to Minsk (450 kilometres).

Still in June, Korotov beat a world distance record for a return journey, in a monoplane glider. He made a flight of more than 191 kilometres.

On the same day, pilot Kartachev beat Ilchenko's record. This pilot, accompanied by a passenger in a biplane glider, carried out a return flight, without landing, of 191 kilometres 352 metres, thus beating the world record.

In July, Kartachev, in the glider Stakhanovitch, made a flight of 620 kilometres, again breaking the world distance record.

At the end of September, Kartachev made several distance flights to fixed destinations. The greatest distance he covered was 320 kilometres, yet another world record.

The Soviet woman pilot, O. Klepikova, made three long-distance flights in one week, beating the world records for women. The record officially logged for her is 153 kilometres.

These are brilliant figures. Soviet gliding pilots have made 12 records in 1938, of which eight are world records.

A RED ARMY SPORTS CLUB

Since its inception, the Red Army has enjoyed a widespread practice of athletics and sports. It may even be said that the Red Army was the cradle of the physical culture and sports movement in the U.S.S.R., a movement which has already shown its capacity and potentialities.

During the years of the 1918-21 civil war, the Red Army organised the first sports contests and founded the first courses in physical culture which provided the movement with its key instructors.

Many of the sportsmen and athletes of the U.S.S.R. began their sports activity during their service in the Red Army.

Parallel with the physical exercises included in military training, and which are compulsory for all Red Army soldiers, there is a wide sports movement. In all the Houses of the Red Army (clubs in which soldiers and officers of the Red Army spent their leisure time, in every kind of scientific, artistic and other pursuits), there is a *sports section*, which, like all other Soviet sports clubs, takes part in all competitions and championships. These sports sections play a great role in the sports activity of the U.S.S.R. After their military service is over, soldiers and officers, as well as their wives, can continue to belong to these Red Army clubs.

The history of sports in the U.S.S.R. cannot be separated from that of the club of the *Central House of the Red Army at Moscow (Z.D.K.A.)*. This club is as popular in the Soviet Union as big associations like Dynamo and Spartak. In all contests and championships, representatives of Z.D.K.A. have proved dangerous opponents to the Dynamo and Spartak teams.

In the football championship of 1938, the Z.D.K.A. team took second place after the Spartak team, but ahead of Dynamo. In the ice-hockey contest, which took place recently, the Z.D.K.A. team carried off the victory. After having beaten Dynamo easily in the semi-final, by five to nil, the favourite, holder of the cup for the previous year, won the final against the Leningrad Vanguard team by two to one (a replay, since the first match was a draw) and became the ice-hockey champion of the U.S.S.R.

In an interview, one of the club's leaders told us:

"Our club has the aim of creating the indispensable conditions for our members' serious training and perfection in their sport. In Moscow we have more than 1,000 members, among them S. Boichenko, A. Diomin, P. Golovkin, A. Bojko, D. Vassiliev, G. Fedotov, I. Stepanov, etc., sportsmen of renown (see their performances below).

"Our club has 16 sections. In its work, our club enjoys the support of the medical section of Z.D.K.A.

"We do not confine our activity to gaining championships, on the contrary, as the number of our members shows, we have a mass basis and many teams in all branches of sport, teams that can fight against the best teams in the Soviet Union. There is not a single soldier in the Red Army to-day who is not a sportsman.

"In the course of last year, our sportsmen took first place in ski-ing and the second place in football. We have beaten clubs like Spartak and Dynamo.

"We have first-class sports equipment. Our tennis grounds are in the centre of the city and are the most up-to-date in the Soviet Union. They have 20 ordinary courts and one central court which can seat 5,000 spectators.

"Our stadium at Sokolniki and our swimming pool on the Moskova, thanks to their excellent equipment, are tremendously popular among Moscow sportsmen and women.

"Finally, I would draw your attention to the fact that in every city where there is a House of the Red Army, they are run on similar lines to that of the Moscow Red Army Sport Club. Every year our sportsmen break new records in the U.S.S.R., and we mean to increase the number of records we hold."

In the course of last year magnificent sports centres were built for the Army and the Red Navy. In the garrisons at Khabarovsk, in the Far East, at Kiev, Smolensk, etc., sports centres have been built. Leningrad and Minsk have inaugurated fine sports halls with modern equipment. There is not a single

unit in the U.S.S.R. which has not its football field, grounds for volley ball, basket ball and gymnasium.

SOME MEMBERS OF THE RED ARMY SPORTS CLUBS

Alexander Diomin (Moscow): decathlon champion of the U.S.S.R. For more than ten years Diomin has been one of the Soviet Union's leading athletes and has taken part in numerous contests abroad. His decathlon record works out as follows:

100 metres, 11, 1-10secs.; 400 metres, 52secs.; 1,500 metres, 5mins. 4, 4-10secs.; 110 metres, 16, 4-10secs.; weights, 11 metres 98, long jump, 6 metres 70; pole jump, 3 metres 70; high jump, 1 metre 70; discus throwing, 33 metres 98; javelin, 52 metres 41.

Alexander Kanaki (Kiev) is another decathlon expert and also U.S.S.R. champion in putting the weight (15 metres 53) and holds the running record for 110 metres. In spite of his weight (96 kilos; his height is 1 metre 88), he runs 100 metres in 11 2-10secs. He takes the pole jump with 3 metres 45, the long jump with 6 metres 45, and the high jump with 1 metre 75. He is also a first-rate mountaineer and one of the U.S.S.R.'s best catch-as-catch-can wrestlers.

Alexander Bojko (Moscow), world record holder for weight-lifting and with bar-bells. In the middle-weight category, in the two hand snatch, he has reached 159 kilos.

G. Fedotov (Moscow) is the soul of the Z.D.K.A. football team, which took second place in the U.S.S.R. championship for 1938. He is the U.S.S.R.'s best left-winger and won several victories for his team.

S. Boichenko (Moscow) is the world's champion crawl swimmer. He already holds two world records. Covering 100 metres in 1min. 6, 8-10secs., and 200 metres in 2mins. 26, 2-10secs. His height is 1 metre 80, and his weight is 90 kilos. For some time Boichenko served in the Navy in the Black Sea.

P. Golovkin (Moscow) is the U.S.S.R.'s best sprinter. He does 100 metres in 10, 6-10secs.; and will certainly improve his time.

MESSAGE TO THE YOUTH OF SPAIN

From the National Conference of the Y.C.L. of Great Britain.

This 11th National Conference of the Young Communist League of Great Britain sends warmest greetings to the youth of Spain, and declares the undying support which the youth of Britain will continue to give to the cause of all people struggling against fascism.

Your temporary defeat, comrades of Spain, was made possible because of the treachery of Britain's Government, whose Prime Minister is that bitter enemy of the people, Neville Chamberlain. Unfortunately, we were not able to get this traitor to democracy out of power, and, because of this, he was able to carry on with his policy, and was able to bring about the capitulation to Franco through the agency of the Casadists.

Comrades, your heroic and courageous struggle, the years of sacrifice which you have given to the cause of peace and democracy have not been in vain. In our country, our youth, who represent the true feelings of Britain's people, wish for your victory, and have become conscious of their allegiance to democracy mainly because of the struggle which you have put up. You have shown us that fascism is not irresistible, that it can be resisted, that it can be conquered.

We know that you will continue your struggle in other forms and we assure you of our support and solidarity in the battles that lie ahead. As for us, we pledge ourselves to do everything in our power to bring down the Chamberlain Government, not only to assist the forward movement for democracy in our own country, but also in order to help all the peoples struggling against fascism in all parts of the world.